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CENTRAL AFRICA Congo

Congo Diary

July 7. United Nations Security Council unanimously endorsed Congo application for United Nations membership.

July 8. Agreement reached between Force Publique and Congolese Government that command be handed over to Congolese officers. Belgians fly out troops from Germany to Congo. Alleged attempt on life of Prime Minister Lumumba discovered.

July 9. European and American refugees continued to cross River Congo to Brazzaville, others crossed into Uganda. Six Europeans killed in Elisabethville.

July 10. Belgian troops in action in Elisabethville and Luluabourg; 2,000 refugees reported in Copperbelt towns of Northern Rhodesia. Others reported in Tanganyika.

July 11. M. Moise Tshombe declared Katanga independent. M. Lumumba appealed to United Nations for aid; 20,000 Europeans reported to have left. More Belgian troops sent by air.

July 12. In New York, Mr. Hammarskjöld met heads of nine African delegations to United Nations. M. Lumumba asked U.S.A. to supply 3,000 troops to restore order. Belgian troops evacuated part of Matadi. M. Lumumba and President Kasavubu refused permission to land at Elisabethville (Katanga) airport.

July 13. M. Lumumba and President Kasavubu demanded immediate withdrawal of Belgian troops, U.S.S.R. called on United Nations to take action to end aggression in Congo by Belgian troops, with support of U.S.A., Britain, West Germany and France. Belgian paratroopers seized Leopoldville airport. President Eisenhower decided not to send military forces to Congo. Ghana Government refused to recognize independence of Katanga and offered military aid and technical assistance to Congo.

July 14. Congo broke off diplomatic relations with Belgium. United Nations Security Council called on Belgium to withdraw and authorized sending of United Nations troops: resolution carried eight to nil with three abstentions (Britain, France and China). Fighting between Belgians and Congolese in Leopoldville reported. Major-General Carl von Horn of Sweden (Chief of Staff of United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine) appointed Commander of United Nations force for Congo, made up in first place of troops from Ghana, Guinea, Mali and Tunisia. M. Tshombe said he would refuse United Nations troops permission to land in Katanga. Further incidents reported from Leopoldville: Belgians attacked M. Lumumba at airport.

July 15. M. Lumumba demanded that all Belgian troops leave the Congo within twelve hours. General H. T. Alexander, British officer in charge of Ghanaian army, announced that the Force Publique had laid down its arms. M. Tshombe accused M. Lumumba of being a Communist.

July 16. First United Nations troops arrived. U.A.R. refused to recognize Katanga: Belgium noted Katanga's declaration of independence and

promised co-operation there and "in other regions of the Congo where security and order reign".

July 17. 5,000 United Nations troops in Congo from Ghana, Tunisia, Morocco and Ethiopia. Belgian officer took over Force Publique in Katanga. General Victor Lundula recently appointed Commander-in-Chief of Congolese Army, arrested in Elisabethville by Katanga Government. M. Joseph Yava, Minister of Economic Affairs, and member of the Conakat Party, resigned from M. Lumumba's Government.

July 18. M. Lumumba reported to have said he would call in Soviet forces unless United Nations made Belgians withdraw: but Congolese Senate rejected idea of Soviet intervention. Moroccan troops reported killed near Thysville. President Sekou Touré of Guinea and President Nkrumah of Ghana refused to recognize independence of Katanga. Sir Roy Welensky said it was not easy to turn down M. Tshombe's request for Federal troops, but the matter had to be dealt with constitutionally.

July 19. Eire decided to send contingent to Congo under United Nations command. Belgium agreed to withdraw troops from Leopoldville at request of United Nations. Congolese National Assembly refused to ratify breaking off of diplomatic relations with Belgium.

July 20. The Secretary-General reported to Security Council on the United Nations forces in Congo: Swedish troops from Gaza would be added to existing contingents. The Belgian and Congolese representatives accused each other's countries of "atrocities".

July 21. Security Council called on Belgium to withdraw its troops "speedily" and empowered Secretary-General to "take all necessary action to this effect". United States Secretary of State Herter said Russia was bluffing about sending troops to Congo. King Baudouin of the Belgians said his troops had "a sacred duty" to intervene to save lives.

July 22. M. Lumumba left by air to attend United Nations in New York. Sixteen Congolese and two Belgians killed in fighting. Reported agreement signed for economic development of Congo by Congo International Management Corporation led by Mr. L. E. Detwiler, an American financier.

July 24. Belgian Army evacuated Leopoldville; 1,000 Tunisian troops under United Nations command occupied Luluabourg.

July 25. General Horn claimed he had been misquoted in saying that United Nations troops would take over Katanga and evict Belgian troops. M. Tshombe said United Nations troops would have to fight their way into Katanga. Four Conservative M.P.s called on British Government to uphold the independence of Katanga. The United States Ambassador to the Congo presented his credentials to President Kasavubu.

July 26. Mr. Ian Scott presented his credentials as first British Ambassador to the Congolese Republic. General Lundula released in Katanga.

July 27. Over 9,000 United Nations troops reported deployed over the Congo, outside Katanga.

July 28. M. Lumumba said the Congo would accept American aid.

July 29. Belgian Government decided to withdraw 1,500 of its 10,000 troops.

July 30. Mr. Hammarskjöld and the Congolese Government announced the formation of a six-member Congolese Commission under the chairmanship of M. Lumumba to supervise the implementation of the Security

Council resolutions. The sending of a Canadian contingent to the United Nations force was announced.

July 31. M. A. Gizenga, Congolese Vice-Premier, said United Nations was not fulfilling its task of entering Katanga.

August 1. Pay disputes reported in some factories and offices in Leopoldville, where there was failure to pay the new, higher rates of pay promised to all workers.

August 2. Mr. Hammarskjöld said United Nations troops would enter Katanga on August 6. M. Lumumba visited London.

August 3. The Katanga Government ordered full mobilization in order to resist the entry of United Nations forces. The French Government refused to recognize Katanga as independent. M. Lumumba visited President Bourguiba of Tunisia.

August 5. After a visit by Dr. Ralph Bunche, United Nations representative, to M. Tshombe, the decision for United Nations troops to enter Katanga was cancelled. M. Lumumba left Morocco for Guinea. The Belgian Foreign Minister said that for the United Nations to send troops into Katanga was an interference in the internal affairs of another country. Soviet Government said all steps should be taken to secure total evacuation of Belgian troops and to stop the present "occupation" of Katanga. United Kingdom Government refused to recall Parliament for a debate on the Katanga situation.

August 7. Central Committee of Abako (the Party led by President Kasavubu) reported to have passed vote of no confidence in M. Lumumba. M. Sekou Touré said that if United Nations troops did not enter Katanga, he would put Guinea contingent at the direct disposal of Congolese Government for this purpose. Colonial Office in London denied probability of rumoured link-up between Katanga, Ruanda-Urundi and Tanganyika.

August 8. M. Tshombe elected Head of State in Katanga by the Provincial Assembly. Reports that Kasai Province was planning secession. Mr. Hammarskjöld urged complete Belgian withdrawal. President Nkrumah of Ghana and M. Lumumba met in Accra. Mr. Julius Nyerere denied existence of any agreement between Tanganyika and Katanga. Katanga delegation in London failed to secure recognition.

August 9. M. Tshombe agreed to allow entry of United Nations troops on certain conditions. M. Lumumba declared state of emergency in Congo: he described those members of the Abako Party who demanded confederation as "Fascists plotting with the Abbé Fulbert Youlou" (President of the former French Congo). Security Council called on Belgium to withdraw immediately troops from Katanga and said entry of United Nations forces into Katanga was necessary but United Nations troops must not be used to intervene or influence outcome of any internal conflict. M. Eyskens, Belgian Prime Minister, said Belgium would have to review military position within N.A.T.O.

August 10. In rioting in Leopoldville, M. Lumumba was struck by Abako supporters. M. Kalonji reported to be forming an autonomous Mining State among the Baluba tribesmen in Kasai.

August 11. The Ghana Parliament authorized Dr. Nkrumah to commit Ghanaian troops to direct action in the Congo, if the United Nations failed to solve the Katanga problem.

August 12. Mr. Hammarskjöld arrived in Elisabethville, capital of Katanga, together with 250 (Swedish) United Nations troops.

August 14. Katanga military police used tear gas to break up anti-Tshombe demonstrations in Elisabethville. M. Lumumba called for the withdrawal of all White troops.

August 15. M. Lumumba said his Government had lost confidence in Mr. Hammarskjöld because he favoured Belgians.

August 17. Congolese troops reported to be interfering with United Nations forces. M. Wigny, Belgian Foreign Minister, said Belgium had a "debt of honour" to Katanga.

August 18. Congolese troops manhandled Canadian United Nations troops at Leopoldville airport. Mr. Hammarskjöld said United Nations position

in Congo might become impossible. M. Eyskens won vote of confidence in Belgian Parliament by 115 votes to eighty-two.

August 20. President Tubman of Liberia and President Bourguiba criticized M. Lumumba's attitude to the United Nations Secretary-General. Reports from Kasai province were of continued tribal fighting between Lulua and Baluba.

August 21. United Nations Security Council strongly supported Mr. Hammarskjöld's actions in the Congo. M. Lumumba expressed his satisfaction with this. Further trouble was reported between various sections of the United Nations force and Congolese Army. Units of Force Publique were flown to Kasai Province to stop tribal fighting. Mr. Tshombe appealed for Congo Federation.

August 22. Congolese troops flew to Luluabourg to put down tribal fighting in Kasai. United Nations forces in Congo reached a total of 15,000 with arrival of 700 parachutists from U.A.R. Talks on confederation reported in Elisabethville between Katanga Government, delegates from Abako Party (Kasavubu), the Puna Party and the Kalonji wing of the National Congolese Movement (M.N.C.).

August 23. Disturbances in Albertville, northern Katanga, involving Mali troops of United Nations.

August 24. M. Kalonji announced that airfield at Bakwanga, capital of "Mining State", was out of action, to prevent Congolese troops landing.

August 25. Leopoldville police fired on anti-Lumumba demonstrators outside the so-called African "summit" conference. M. Kalonji appealed to M. Tshombe for military aid.

August 26. Soviet cultural delegation arrived in Leopoldville. M. Lumumba said Belgians were using Brazzaville in (ex-French) Congo Republic as centre of spy net and plots.

August 27. Congolese troops occupied Bakwanga in Kasai and approached Katanga border. Canadians, Americans and a Swede engaged in transporting equipment were attacked by crowd at Leopoldville airport.

August 29. Ten Congolese soldiers reported wounded in fighting with Kalonji's forces in Kasai. M. Lumumba called for co-operation with Europeans. United States protested about beating up of eight servicemen.

August 30. Last of Belgian combat troops reported to have left. M. Kalonji appealed for troops to Dr. Bunche and General de Gaulle.

August 31. Mr. Hammarskjöld complained that all Belgian troops had not been withdrawn. Thirteen African states at Leopoldville conference endorsed the United Nations' work in the Congo and called on Mr. Lumumba's Government to co-operate with United Nations.

September 1. M. Eyskens, Belgian Prime Minister, said he would not resign. Continued fighting reported from Bakwanga.

September 2. Russian transport aircraft arrived for M. Lumumba. Three British journalists arrested by Congolese troops in Bakwanga. M. J. Bolikango, leader of the Puna Party in Equateur, arrested.

September 4. British journalists released. More fighting and casualties reported from Kasai.

September 5. President Kasavubu said he had dismissed M. Lumumba as Prime Minister and appointed M. Joseph Ileo in his place. M. Lumumba broadcast an appeal to Army to continue to support him.

September 6. Police fired on anti-Lumumba demonstrators, killing two. M. Lumumba again appealed for support and said Cabinet would take over M. Kasavubu's functions. M. Tshombe associated himself with President Kasavubu and called for a conference to work out a confederation.

September 7. Congo Parliament by sixty to nineteen voted to cancel the dismissal of Lumumba by Kasavubu and of Kasavubu by Lumumba. M. Lumumba appealed to independent African states for military aid. M. Bolikango was set free by troops siding with Abako.

September 8. United States protested against Russia supplying Congo with planes and other material for military purposes.

September 9. Mr. Lumumba called for immediate withdrawal of United Nations troops. In the Senate he won vote of confidence by forty-one to two. United Nations closed Elisabethville airport after Belgian arms had

been delivered. Security Council met again. Guinea announced intention to withdraw its troops from United Nations command.

September 11. United Nations troops guarding Leopoldville radio station refused to allow Mr. Lumumba to enter. Both Mr. Lumumba and Mr. Ileo announced that they were sending delegations to United Nations. Increasing uncertainty in Katanga; evacuation of Belgians reported; Mr. Tshombe said Katanga intended to remain completely independent.

September 12. Majority of Congolese Army reported in support of Colonel Mobutu, Chief of Staff appointed by President Kasavubu. M. Lumumba claimed Army support. U.A.R. announced intention to withdraw troops from United Nations command and attacked United Nations action in closing airports and radio stations. Security Council adjourned because of confusing reports on Congo situation.

September 13. United Nations reopened Congo airports and Leopoldville radio station. In New York acute problem developed regarding recognition of rival Congo delegations. Mr. Zorin (U.S.S.R.) attacked Mr. Hammarskjöld and said a Western coalition was trying to colonize the Congo.

September 14. Colonel Mobutu announced that he was taking over supreme power in the country. He broadcast that he was suspending both Congolese Prime Ministers and also the head of State from their functions until the crisis was solved. The Army would take control until the end of the year. The United Nations Security Council became involved in procedural arguments regarding, firstly, whether it should accord recognition to either, both or neither of the Congo delegations, and whether the representative of Guinea, one of five non-members of the Council admitted to the meeting, should be allowed to speak on the point of representation. The Council eventually decided against hearing Guinea, and failed to adopt a resolution that the Lumumba delegation, led by Mr. Kanza, be heard. It then adjourned.

In Northern Katanga, Manono, a mining town, was reported ablaze and it was estimated seventy Africans had been killed. Refugees were flown into Elisabethville. Before intervening the Irish Commander of United Nations troops disarmed the Katanga police "in the face of the rioters". Katanga Government protested against United Nations decision not to allow reinforcements of *gendarmérie* to be flown to Manono.

September 15. M. Lumumba asked the United Nations for protection and spent the day in the officers' mess of the Ghanaian United Nations force. Congolese soldiers made two successful attempts to break into the mess but Ghana troops pushed them out. Many of the troops in the camp are Balubas. United Nations representative maintained contact with President Kasavubu.

Colonel Mobutu ordered guards on all pro-Communist embassies and gave staff forty-eight hours to leave. He asked for continued United Nations help.

Mali troops under United Nations command confirmed the presence of about 300 "seemingly well organized" Congolese troops inside the Northern Katanga border.

In New York the United States accused the Soviet Union of trying to make the Congo a "Soviet satellite state in the heart of Africa".

September 16. M. Lumumba's disappearance reported. President Kasavubu received ambassadors of all African states except Guinea. Nigeria agreed to send troops to join the United Nations force.

In New York U.S.S.R. put forward a resolution asking the Secretary-General and the United Nations force "to put an end to all forms of interference in the internal affairs of the Congo". Mr. Hammarskjöld pointed out that in view of conflicting claims to exercise authority by local politicians it was inevitable that his representatives should be obliged to take steps which might be interpreted as favouring one side or the other. He cited the latest protest by President Kasavubu against the United Nations troops for preventing Mr. Lumumba from "being brought to justice".

The Council also had before it the United States resolution urging the Secretary-General to "continue to give vigorous effects to the resolutions to refrain from sending aid to the Congo except through the United Nations".

September 17. A Tunisian-Ceylonese compromise resolution which had

wide support from Afro-Asian powers was vetoed in the Security Council by Russia. United States therefore called for an emergency session of the General Assembly. Russian and Czech Embassy staffs left Congo.

September 18. In the General Assembly the U.S.S.R. representative continued his attack on Mr. Hammarskjöld saying that what was going on was an attempt to establish a "neo-colonial régime under the blue flag of the United Nations" and "in open mockery" of the Security Council's resolutions. Mr. Hammarskjöld replied by saying: "The General Assembly knows me well enough to realize that I would not wish to serve one day beyond the point at which such continued service would be, and would be considered to be, in the best interests of the organization." Sources close to Mr. Hammarskjöld indicated that he had no intention of resigning but was looking to the assembly to vindicate him and his work in Congo.

Ghana tabled, on behalf of fourteen Afro-Asian States, a draft resolution reaffirming the Security Council's actions to meet the Congo emergency. This resolution appealed to all Congolese to seek a speedy solution by peaceful means of all their internal conflicts, with the assistance as appropriate of Asian and African representatives appointed by the advisory committee on the Congo, in consultation with the Secretary-General.

Mr. Lumumba reappeared at the official Prime Minister's residence saying that he had signed an agreement of reconciliation with President Kasavubu. This the President denied.

Secretary-General's Plea to U.N.

Mr. Hammarskjöld made an outspoken speech on September 10 in the Security Council when he asked for a new endorsement of the United Nations initiatives for restoring peace in the Congo. It was at this stage that it became obvious that the Russians were determined to obstruct the Secretary-General.

Mr. Hammarskjöld stated that the Congolese National Army had been guilty of genocide (race murder) in slaughtering defenceless civilians as well as combatants. He based his allegations on information from United Nations and International Red Cross personnel.

In the Bakwanga region, he stated, hundreds of Balubas were reported killed on August 29 and 30. "One shocking incident is the massacre on August 31 by Congolese national troops, using machetes, of seventy Balubas, including women and children who had taken refuge in a mission school."

Villages have been pillaged and burned and their inhabitants, men, women and children, killed. United Nations officials were informed that unarmed persons were deliberately killed simply on the ground that they were Balubas. These actions obviously could not be viewed merely as examples of internal political conflict; they involved "a most flagrant violation of elementary human rights and have the characteristics of the crime of genocide since they appear to be directed toward the extermination of a specific ethnic group, the Baluba tribe".

The Security Council had come now to a point where it must take "a clear line as regards all assistance to the Congo".

"I believe," said the Secretary-General, "it will achieve its aims only if it requests now that such assistance should be channelled through the United Nations and only through the United Nations." It would thereby solve the problem of military assistance to the Katanga and it would also solve the problem of "abuse of technical assistance in other parts of the Congo, thus at the same time serving the vital interest in a localization of the conflict and the interest in a peaceful solution of the domestic problems of the Congo, without any interference from outside influencing the outcome. Thus, and only thus," he said, "could it justify its appeal to member nations for the funds now so desperately needed by the Congo, whether the need is seen by the leaders of the country or not."

In this situation, he said, spokesmen of the Central Government spoke about the assistance rendered by the international community as if it were an imposition and treated the organization as if they had all the rights and no obligations.

The Secretary-General said he was sure that "irrespective of how the authorities in the Congo operate and how the domestic situation develops, the United Nations operation must continue. I believe that this is true,

because of the great risks which exist for the spreading of the Congo crisis over Africa, and even more widely, were a continued disintegration of order, economy and civilian life to be permitted."

He had deplored Belgian assistance in the Katanga, but the Belgians were not alone. "There are others who follow a similar line, justifying their policy by a reference to the fact that assistance is given to the constitutional Government of the country. Admittedly, there is a difference, and these latter actions are covered by explicit requests in the Security Council. But it should be recognized that this is no longer a question of form and legal justification, but a question of very hard realities, where the use to which the assistance is put is more important than the heading in an export list under which it is registered, or the status of the one to whom it is addressed." (*Observer*, September 11.)

Lessons of the Congo

In South Africa, the *Rand Daily Mail* (July 15) commented: "It is useless to expect people to be responsible when they have never been given an opportunity to develop responsibility. For years the Congolese have been shielded from 'politics' and protected from the dangers inherent in learning the rudiments of self-government. They were given no chance to fail on a minor scale and profit by their mistakes, with the result that when the test came, they failed on a major scale. Is there not a warning for South Africa in this?"

From Kenya, Sir Charles Markham wrote: "In so far as the countries concerned which are administered by the Colonial Office, few will question that complete independence must be the desirable goal for every country. Unless, however, the political 'wind of change' is not to result in a hurricane of terror, it is vital that our legislators in Westminster should appreciate their onerous responsibilities not only to the various established minorities, but to the inhabitants of the country generally."

Professor W. M. Macmillan said: "A smooth transition to the more broadly based political structure called for in modern Africa demands above all that African leaders lay aside appeals to this or that foreign authority and enter rather into dialogue with those who, though their skins are white, are their own fellow citizens at least equally concerned with them for the welfare of their common country. These White Africans are, moreover, in a better position than anyone to contribute to the new order what the Congo so conspicuously lacks, a reserve of administrative talent."

Mr. Jo Grimond, M.P., commented: "The Colonial Powers have imposed their world and way of life on Africans, at the same time have failed to ensure that Africans qualified and adapted themselves to the process. The lesson to be drawn from this is not that progress towards independence for the Africans should be retarded. Just the opposite; it must continue. But owing to past failures to provide sufficient education, training, etc., there is a redoubled urgency that this should be done now. In some countries we can still do a great deal by ourselves. In others, it may well be that the United Nations should be called in to assist the work."

Dr. C. C. Chesterman added: "Would it not be far wiser, juster and more effective for the United Nations to give Belgium a mandate for her work of nation building on the foundations which she has well and truly laid? Given the reign of law and a short cooling off time there are many Belgians who would be willing to return, and Mr. Lumumba has repeatedly invited them to do so. No heterogeneous body of United Nations Civil Servants could do the job as well as the Belgians." (*The Times*, July 15, 26, 27, and August 5.)

The *Observer* (July 17), wrote: "It is natural that the defenders of the *status quo* should find in these events support for their opposition to an early transfer of power to Africans. But this is a false deduction: to act on it would ensure only great disasters. The tempo in Africa calls for rapid emancipation; delaying tactics can only mean repression, the surest path to racial violence. But if there are dangers in delaying emancipation, there are dangers also in a quick surrender of power, as the Belgians have discovered."

"In the balance of danger the advantage lies with emancipation, for only in this way is it possible to plan ahead and to reduce—possibly even to remove altogether—the bitterness and suffering that lie in wait for the privileged groups who, now more than ever, are terrified of what might

be their fate should they relax their uncertain control. . . . Deadly rivalries and tribal schisms are likely to threaten African States once the authoritarian central power is withdrawn. Europeans are likely to be singled out for indiscriminate revenge as a reprisal for years of pent-up feelings of grievance and such attacks may be difficult to control in the absence of an effective national leadership.

"There are also dangers of administrative and economic collapse due to the lack of trained Africans at the highest levels of the Army and Civil Service. . . . The three minimum requirements are a security force capable of maintaining peace while the new political factions work out their common destiny; effective economic aid free from foreign strings; and the provision of high-grade administrators and technicians to fill the gap while Africans acquire the training and experience that they may not have received under the previous dispensations. These three needs can be best supplied through the United Nations, whose reputation stands high in Africa. But if the United Nations is to become an effective instrument, it must rapidly develop the resources required to perform these tasks."

Patrick O'Donovan (*Observer*, July 31) said the Congo had probably the largest government in the world (the necessity of accommodating tribal rivalries accounts for that). "It has twenty-three ministers including a *Ministre des Classes Moyennes*. It has ten Secretaries of State. None of them has ever exerted real authority before and none of them has any."

On Mr. Lumumba, the *Guardian* (August 10) said: "Not the least of Mr. Hammarskjöld's difficulties is that he has to maintain the fiction that he is supplying help to a responsible Government which has run into temporary difficulty. . . . Before long M. Lumumba will presumably have to present himself to Parliament and answer for his conduct. Somebody will have to introduce a draft constitution for the State. Eventually the Government will surely have to be taken in hand by somebody more competent and less vainglorious. . . . M. Lumumba's personal inadequacy and the political troubles that led him to turn on his own rescuers are part of the whole Congo situation which has led the United Nations to intervene."

Katanga's Position

On the position of Katanga, Mr. Selwyn-Lloyd as Foreign Secretary said in the House of Commons (July 25): "The Congo should remain a unified state because of the wealth of the Katanga and the importance it has for the rest of the Congo. But this is an internal matter and it would be a very grave mistake if we allowed United Nations troops to be used to solve internal problems."

The *Times* (August 10) commented: "The Katanga is, of course, only one symptom of the Congo's troubles, which derive from the basic difficulty of holding this vast area together under a central Government. Just as serious as the secessionist movement in the Katanga is that of the Bacongo who live round Leopoldville and the mouth of the Congo River, with tribal affinities in the former French Congo Republic and in Portuguese territory. . . . Behind these semi-political movements lie the tribal jealousies in their stark strength. On top of all are the economic troubles, arising from tens of thousands of unemployed or unpaid labourers turned loose by the collapse of government revenue and the flight of Belgian employers."

The military correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* (August 9) wrote: "Anything but a loose federation with federal safeguards for the minorities seems out of the question. It may be necessary to make some increase in the number of provinces to solve, for instance, the problem of the Baluba."

The *Guardian* (August 19) said: "There may be a case for establishing formal United Nations control over the country—a trusteeship administered by the United Nations as a body—until it is able to conduct its own affairs."

Ruanda-Urundi

Autonomous in 1961

M. J-P. HARROY, Resident-General, said that Ruanda-Urundi would become autonomous in 1961 and independent shortly afterwards. It is

at present a Trust Territory administered by Belgium. Belgian troops would remain until independence and new security arrangements would be necessary because of events in the Congo. New currency independent of the Congolese franc would be introduced. (*Ghana Daily Graphic*, August 8.)

Development of Political Parties

The *Guardian* (September 9) described how political parties, which first appeared in 1957, followed the division between the Watutsi, a minority group of cattle-owning feudal lords, and the Wahutu who are cultivators.

The political struggle in Ruanda, where it is particularly fierce, led in November 1959 to the burning of thousands of huts, the displacement and exile of a large number of the population, mainly Tutsis, and an atmosphere of continuous political unrest.

The Hutus organized themselves in two main political parties, Parmehutu and Aprosoma, both republican, fiercely opposing the present Mwami of Ruanda, Kigeri V, and the hereditary monarchy.

The main party of the Tutsis is U.N.A.R., intensely loyal to the Mwami and all the symbols and institutions of the hereditary monarchy. Many of the political leaders of U.N.A.R., including the Party's Secretary-General, Michel Rwagasana, live now in exile in Uganda. From there they exercise a still considerable hold over their followers and it was on Rwagasana's orders that the two members of the Ruanda Provisional Council who belong to U.N.A.R. declined to take part in the Brussels conference, held in May, which tried to restore a better political atmosphere in the country.

The exiled U.N.A.R. leaders also wanted to induce the people of Ruanda to abstain from the current communal elections, but in this they failed and nearly everybody turned up at the polls. The votes went overwhelmingly to the Parmehutu Party. This will further loosen the links with Urundi, where the monarchy is more firmly established. There is already a considerable movement to separate the administration of the two countries and retain only a very loose form of federation—and should Ruanda eventually become a republic the separation will be inevitable.

The head of the United Nations delegation,¹ Mr. Mason Sears, thought that U.N.A.R. could become a national party and the present Mwami could ensure the unity of the people in Ruanda. Both Ruanda and Urundi should eventually be guided by the protecting power to independence, and elections should be held this winter.

Although all political parties look forward to independence and would like to advance the date (in their latest proclamation they demanded it by Christmas), the Parmehutus view it with reluctance and would like to see democratic reforms and consequently their own political power firmly established, before the Belgians leave. But in Ruanda-Urundi the lack of trained African administrators and technicians is just as acute as in the Congo. Whether the recent events in the Congo will only inflame the political factions fighting for independence in Ruanda-Urundi or whether they will frighten them away from such hasty political experiments only time will show.

Nyasaland

New Constitution

AGREEMENT on a new constitution for Nyasaland was reached at a conference held in London in August.

The Voters

There will be two voters' rolls with two sets of qualifications.

For the purpose of the first roll the country will be divided into eight constituencies. To become a voter on this roll a person must have the following qualifications:

(a) Nationality as a British subject or British Protected Person of Nyasaland; (b) residence in the Protectorate for two years prior to registration; (c) age 21 years or over.

In addition he must have one of the following three qualifications: Either an income of not less than £120 a year plus two years' secondary education; or an income of not less than £150 a year; or ownership of £500 worth of immovable property.

¹DIGEST VIII, 1.

For the purpose of the second roll the country will be divided into twenty constituencies. To become a voter on this roll a person must have the following qualifications:

Nationality, residence and age as for the first roll. In addition there are six qualifications any one of which will qualify a person to vote:

- (i) Income of £120 a year or ownership of immovable property valued at not less than £250, plus literacy in English;
- (ii) Persons on tax register who have met their tax obligations for the past ten years and who are literate in English or any language or dialect commonly used in Nyasaland;
- (iii) Holders of scheduled posts, chiefs, Native Authority members past and present members of District Councils and group or village headmen;
- (iv) Master farmers;
- (v) Pensioners;
- (vi) Ex-Servicemen.

Of the twenty-eight members in the Legislative Council, therefore, the majority (twenty) will be elected by the second roll. The Legislative Council is the most important unity in the new constitution; within the Legislative Council itself the dominant factor will be the members elected on the second roll; therefore the voice of the majority will, for practical purposes, have the greatest influence on the destiny of the country.

Legislative and Executive Councils

In addition to the twenty-eight members elected to the Legislative Council (Unofficials) there will be five other members—three of them ex-officio and two nominated. These five will also be members of the Executive Council and will sit on the Official side. The three ex-officio members will consist of the Chief Secretary, the Financial Secretary and the Attorney-General. The full house will therefore number thirty-three. The Governor may recommend to the Colonial Secretary that the two nominated members of the Executive Council be replaced by elected members chosen from the Legislative Council.

There will be a further five members of the Legislative Council to serve on the Executive Council, making the total members of the latter ten. Members of the Executive Council will have the status of Minister.

Of the five members chosen from amongst the twenty-eight Unofficials, two will be drawn from the eight elected on the first roll and three from the twenty elected on the second roll. The five Unofficials so chosen are obliged to "cross the floor" and sit on the Official side of the assembly. This means that the Officials will number ten and the Unofficials twenty-three.

Appointment to the Executive Council from the Legislative Council will be made by the Governor who, in making them, will take heed of the strength of the political parties represented in the Legislative Council. In addition the Governor will appoint members to the Executive Council after he has consulted with the leader or leaders of the political parties represented in the Legislative Council. (*Tsopano*, August.)

Splits and Intimidations and Consolidations

Speaking in the Legislative Council, Mr. D. W. Chijozi accused Dr. Banda, whom he had formerly supported, of being hopeless and unreliable. He spoke of intimidation and murder. Mr. Chijozi said that he and other African leaders had fought for self-rule long before Dr. Banda returned to Nyasaland.

A Republican Party was formed as a breakaway group from the Malawi Congress. It is led by Mr. Hartwell Solomon, a former member of Dr. Banda's Party. The new Party hopes to achieve its end by the use of Gandhi's principles of non-violence and civil disobedience. Its objective is secession and independence outside the Federation. Later, Mr. Chijozi, Mr. Kwenje and Mr. Chinyama, all three M.L.C.s, said they had joined the Congress Liberation Party.

A call for police anti-intimidation squads to be set up in villages in Nyasaland was made by Mr. L. A. Little, chairman of the Nyasaland United Federal Party. He suggested increasing penalties for intimidation up to ten years' imprisonment if the offence involved threats of death or damage. (*Daily Telegraph*, July 7.)

In reply the Chief Secretary, Mr. G. S. Jones, refuted claims that the

Government was failing to fight African nationalist intimidation, which he called "foul and monstrous". He said the police were continually investigating reports of intimidation. The *Guardian* (July 25) said: "Nyasaland's troubles stem largely from the Government's failure to take the African population into its confidence. It failed to advise them of the arguments for and against federation. It failed to offer Dr. Banda anything to show his supporters when he returned from abroad. It failed—and is still failing—to regard the nationalist movement as anything other than 'bad men doing wicked things', to quote its recurrent propaganda theme. Bad men have done wicked things indeed, but they are only the self-seekers who attach themselves to any popular movement. There should be no doubt in the Government's mind that Malawi is a popular movement and that its supporters in the villages want a return to the mutual trust between races which existed before federation. Dr. Banda's contribution to a new deal should be to purge Malawi of the 'bad men'. He is strong enough to tolerate opposition. He should also tell the young men of his Party to stop harassing the political leaders of an older generation who have done so much to help the country and who have, indeed, prepared the way for the Malawi of today.

"A strong argument could be advanced on practical grounds, for a longer period of British suzerainty in Nyasaland than is now being envisaged. The argument is not often put because it has become politically impossible. But at least Malawi should respect the views of those who adhere to this argument and not brand them as stooges."

Despite denials by Mr. S. Sacranie, leader of the Asian delegation to the Nyasaland Constitution Conference in London, Mr. M. H. Blackwood, M.L.C., gave details of Asians in the Northern Province who complained of 100 per cent intimidation and demands for protection money. He said there was wholesale and widespread intimidation. (*The Times*, July 30.)

Police used tear-smoke to disperse a jeering crowd of Africans, mostly youths, who tried to mob Mr. Matthews Phiri, vice-chairman of the United Federal Party in Nyasaland, who was a delegate at the London conference. Mr. Phiri was slightly hurt and eight people were arrested.

A tuberculosis survey which was being carried out in Nyasaland by the World Health Organization has been stopped because of lack of co-operation. The Regional Director of Health, Dr. P. R. Stephens, said in a statement that the reason for resistance might have been the African's traditional opposition to anything new but he felt the people "had been got at".

Earlier in London both Mr. Chinyama, M.L.C., and Mr. T. D. T. Banda, leader of the Congress Liberation Party, had complained of intimidation, and in the Legislative Council, Sir Robert Armitage, the Governor, in a review of the past year said: "Seeds of disaffection, racial bitterness and hatred are being assiduously sowed by certain persons. I refer to those who trade in intemperate and offensive public utterances; who indulge in abusive and unjustifiable attacks on the missions; who name and defame in public individual Government officers who by the nature of their calling are unable publicly to rebut the slanders uttered against them; who mislead and delude their hearers by wild promises of a Utopian future which no Government of whatever nature or however comprised could hope to fulfil." (*Press Release*, July 4.)

The *Rhodesia Herald* (July 25) discussed the remarkable growth and strength of the Malawi Congress Party. Party leaders claim a paid-up and registered membership of over 500,000 and Nyasaland police security officers admit that this claim is "certainly not far off". During recent months, if earlier estimates were accurate, membership has been growing at the fantastic rate of 120,000 a month. Already standing at more than one-sixth of Nyasaland's population, the membership ceiling could, according to some officers, turn out to be as high as 1 million out of a total population of 2,800,000 if one includes the large youth and women's leagues. The Party is in a very healthy financial position. Annual 2s. subscriptions are pouring in at a very fast rate and the present membership list gives the movement an annual income around the £50,000 mark. Added to that is the Malawi newsletter which has a wide fortnightly circulation of over 7,000—and still rising—and which nets another £360 gross monthly.

Proof of the party's strong financial state is its recent purchase of three

new Land Rovers—equipped with loudspeaker broadcasting systems for use as campaign vans—for which the Party is reported to have paid cash. Party organizers now reach even the most remote bush areas of the country in search of new members. The organization is efficiently run, and news and instructions from the leaders in Blantyre get around very quickly.

Discipline is taken very seriously. Only recently two high ranking officials were sacked for not toeing the Party line. This new factor is regarded in official circles as one of the main dangers of the new movement. Inefficiency and the complete lack of discipline enabled the Nyasaland police to keep track of developments which led up to the banning of the Nyasaland African Congress and the state of emergency. Malawi presents the police with a far different problem, should the Party's policy become more aggressive or violent in the future. In fact, the Malawi organization is being developed on the same lines as the Tanganyika African National Union, which is recognized as being one of the largest and best organized African political movements on the continent.

Civil Service Committee

The head of the Ghana Civil Service, Mr. A. L. Adu, was appointed chairman of a committee to advise on ways and means of speeding up local recruitment to the Nyasaland Civil Service. The committee will assess the needs of the Civil Service and the possibility of using training facilities both inside and outside the Protectorate. It will also consider plans for training more local officers to take up senior appointments. (*Press Release*, August 23.)

Education

The Report of the Education Department for 1959 shows that half of the fifty-four established posts for Education Officers, both men and women, were non-effective or vacant. During 1960 another six would become non-effective: only one vacancy was likely to be filled. Twenty-seven Africans were studying outside the Protectorate, fifteen in United Kingdom, three in South Africa, three in Basutoland, four at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and two at Makerere.

An increase of 50 per cent was reported in pupils at Government Junior Primary Schools. The total number of students in training as teachers was 918 as compared with 946 in 1958. The wastage of pupils as they moved up the schools was still high, especially in unaided schools and among girls.

For example 50 per cent of the 32,000 girls in the first class of unaided Primary schools (sub-standard A) left school after only one year. In schools of all kinds the figures were:

Sub-standard A		Standard III	Standard VI	Standard X
1st school year		5th year	8th year	12th year
Boys	64,941	17,463	4,568	76
Girls	47,334	5,898	799	8
112,275		23,361	5,367	84

Because the Government Artisan Training Centre was requisitioned as a Detention Camp (Kanjedza), there was no technical training undertaken by Government. In other aided or unaided courses, 454 men and 279 women received training, of these 355 men were theological students and 239 women took homecraft. The home expenditure on education was £1,182,206.

Rhodesia, Northern

Demand for Majority Rule

MR. K. MULONDA, Independent member of the Legislative Council, representing Barotseland, pressed for greater African representation in several debates. In reply to the Governor's address at the opening of the session, he said: "Although it is Britain's declared policy of leading her colonies and protectorates to self-government and independence, it is common experience that that self-government or independence has almost always come after very big struggles on the part of the colonial peoples.

"Every so often Britain has been compelled by the force of events to grant independence to her colonies in Africa. On each occasion before the granting of independence leaders of the colonial peoples were thrown into prisons, thousands were killed and all sorts of inhuman things were done to make Africans feel they belonged to an inferior race and could not aspire to independence. Here in Northern Rhodesia we Africans know quite well that Africans will not be given independence on a silver plate." He said Northern Rhodesia was following out-of-date policies and doctrines and it was time for a new approach.

"The wind of change has started and will continue to blow. The days of European rule and foreign governments in Africa are fast coming to a close." He said he was not trying to amuse or frighten anyone but to try to get them to realize that the inevitable must take place whether they liked it or not. "If we go against the wind of change we will fall headlong and break our necks. If we go with it we will move much faster and save a lot of trouble." (*Central African Post*, June 20.)

When he introduced the theme again several hundred Africans, members of U.N.I.P., staged a demonstration fast outside the Legislative Council building in protest against inadequate African representation. (*The Times*, July 7 and 8.)

The debate was adjourned for two weeks, but when it was resumed on July 20, about 1,000 demonstrators were present. Mr. Mulonda's motion for greater African representation was defeated by nineteen votes to eight: Sir John Moffatt, Leader of the Opposition, and Mr. V. D. Mistry, Asian nominated member, voted with the African members. After the vote Mr. H. Nkumbula (A.N.C.) walked out and told the crowd what had happened. The *African Daily News* (July 26) reported that the other African members called off a concerted walk-out because it might trigger off a riot and there was a rumour that the Governor was prepared to declare a state of emergency and that all leaders of A.N.C. and U.N.I.P. would be arrested.

In the debate Sir John Moffatt said the only intelligent thing for Europeans to do was to accept the inevitable, even if they did not like it, and use such time as was available to see that the transfer of power in Northern Rhodesia from White to Black was peaceful and to the best advantage. He said in the past approaches to revisions of the constitution had been wrong and when the Colonial Secretary had to make a final decision between two mutually exclusive claims both sides repudiated it. "The correct starting-point is to examine the facts of life for a small White minority in the middle of a Black continent in turmoil. Recent events in the Congo may be making some of our people realize the need for some constructive thinking."

Mr. John Roberts (U.F.P.) said: "No one should delude themselves, just because certain Europeans in the Congo had sought refuge in the Rhodesias, that the same attitude would necessarily be displayed by Europeans here in the event of trouble. . . . Europeans are very much here to stay and will give of their all to maintain that right." He said he and his political colleagues had no intention of deviating a single step in their approach towards the political pattern and progress in the country. "All the motions in the world, even if supported by demonstrations, will not induce us to change our minds," he said. The cries of "independence" and "freedom" were becoming a little worn, he said.

The Chief Secretary, Mr. Martin Wray, said the Government was confident it could handle any trouble. "I do not think such trouble would be by any means a spontaneous eruption, but would be the result, if it happened, of deliberate action and planning by certain African leaders acting individually or collectively. Members of the Legislative Council will know who those leaders might be." He said the meaning of the motion as he saw it was that unless African representation was increased there would be trouble and that the question of law and order had been dragged into it as an excuse. "This ties in exactly with the oft-repeated claim of U.N.I.P. that independence must be achieved by an early date by what would amount to a rebellion." He urged that the outcome of the Monckton Commission should be awaited. Mr. Wray said that despite the welcome exhortation to Africans by Mr. Mulonda not to burn houses, schools and people, the Government read a threat in the motion and would be failing in its duty of maintaining law and order if it did not take the motion and its implications very seriously indeed.

The present constitution had been in force for only a year and the Federal Review Conference had yet to take place. It seemed wrong and confusing to initiate any formal discussions on the Northern Rhodesia Territorial Constitution in the meantime. (*Rhodesia Herald*, July 21.)

Speaking to the territorial congress of U.F.P. Mr. Roberts said that the past year had been shadowed by a feeling of insecurity and uncertainty over the territory's constitutional future which would be dispelled only when the Monckton Commission report was published and the review of the Federal Constitution completed. He said that full advantage of this situation had been taken by people Black and White who opposed the policies of partnership and who aimed to break down the foundation on which the U.F.P. was seeking to build. "As a result—and because of constitutional events in Kenya and other parts of Africa—some people here, and not only Africans, were misled into believing that there would be an African-run Government in Northern Rhodesia by the end of this year. . . .

"The banning of U.N.I.P. on the Copperbelt, coupled with the statements by the Government and Her Majesty's Government has had a salutary effect, but while there has been a lessening of intimidation and pressure it still continues in some degree. It is my guess that having been exposed in their 'independence by October' illusion these people will, over the forthcoming months, try to seize upon any excuse to stir up trouble. We as a party would be well advised to take note of that."

Mr. Roberts said it was the task of Europeans and mature Africans to maintain stable government and a calm, fearless determined outlook until Africa's political boiling pot simmered down. (*Rhodesia Herald*, August 8.)

The *Guardian* (August 16) said: "Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, leader of the United National Independence Party, undertook when he was released from detention early this year to accept the Party's campaign for 'independence in 1960'. Whether he was wise to do so is another matter, but for a time he made the slogan his own with the result that a large number of the politically-minded Africans in the Protectorate are expecting, if not self-government, then some earnest of progress towards it by October, which was the month chosen. Mr. Kaunda is the African leader with whom the Colonial Office would probably find it easiest to do business. If he could be shown by the less responsible members of his party to have failed them in some way he might well be succeeded by one of them, and Mr. Macleod's problems in securing an equitable Constitution would be correspondingly increased. Were Mr. Macleod able to offer Mr. Kaunda something tangible to show his followers before October he might save himself trouble later on."

Lady Hilda Selwyn-Clarke of the Fabian Commonwealth Bureau commented: "The fundamentally explosive nature of the situation is all too obvious. Africans in Nyasaland, in Kenya and in Tanganyika are now, or will shortly be, in a dominant position in their legislative councils. In all of these territories they are, or will be, strongly represented in their executive councils. In Northern Rhodesia, by contrast, franchise qualifications ensure that only a small proportion of Africans can qualify even for the lower income group vote; and it is specified that their votes can never make up more than one-third of the total electorate in fourteen out of the twenty-two elected seats. Neither the African National Congress nor the United National Independent Party, which between them represent the vast majority of Africans, can achieve a position of influence under the present constitution."

"The territory borders on the Congo: the deplorable events there must inevitably inflame racial antagonisms in Northern Rhodesia across the border. There is reliable evidence that Europeans in Northern Rhodesia have, not unnaturally, armed themselves against possible disturbances. In Southern Rhodesia we have already had a foretaste of such disturbances. All in all, it would be difficult to imagine a more explosive situation. Moreover, if the balloon does go up in Northern Rhodesia, this will certainly prevent rational thinking at the forthcoming Federal Constitutional Review; if indeed that review could be usefully held at all in a state of high tension."

Two units of over 500 men are to be raised of Local Defence Volunteers, one in the Copperbelt and the other with its headquarters at Lusaka. The new units are designed to assist military and police forces in times of

emergency, and are concerned with guarding homes in their own areas. Last month it was reported that several White civilians were forming their own private units and that one band of men from the mining town of Mufulira had attempted to cross the Congo border to relieve the siege of Elisabethville. Meanwhile, the Northern Rhodesian Government has relaxed its restrictions on the granting of firearm licences and small arms shops report an unprecedented sale of revolvers, pistols, and other weapons.

However, Whites are not being granted firearm licences without a special police test. To pass this test rifle clubs are holding classes for housewives and others, teaching them safety precautions and the use of firearms. Many women are handling weapons for the first time when they enrol at classes. Although there is no law excluding Africans from the Special Constabulary, so far none has been enrolled, and they are not being encouraged to do so. However, the number of Africans joining the police reserve is growing. (*Guardian*, August 23.)

A report that Mr. Kaunda was being attacked for being too moderate by Mr. S. Kapwepwe, the U.N.I.P. treasurer, and Mr. S. Wina, the publicity officer, was denied in a statement issued by the executive committee. It said: "Neither Mr. Kapwepwe nor Mr. Wina is in any way bidding for the leadership of the Party, and the entire central committee is as much committed to the policy of non-violence with positive action as the president is himself." (*Northern News*, August 4.)

Appeals from U.N.I.P.

The Post Office in Lusaka refused to transmit telegrams from Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, president of the United National Independence Party, addressed to Mr. Macmillan, Mr. Macleod and the United Nations Secretary-General. The telegrams, handed in after the outbreak of violence in Southern Rhodesia, said that there was an atmosphere of war in the Federation. They asked that a constitutional conference be called immediately. The telegram to Mr. Hammarskjöld, addressed to him in Leopoldville, said: "The Central African Government is arming every White man here, thereby creating an atmosphere of war. We therefore request you to use your good offices and intervene for the protection of Africans and European liberals. Press the British Government to send in troops and in the interest of peace and racial harmony initiate talks on a constitutional change in September."

The Federal Minister of Posts, Mr. F. S. Owen, said that he had banned Mr. Kaunda's telegrams because he "took exception to the fact that lies were being told about the position here". The statement that the Government was arming every White man, thereby creating an atmosphere of war, was completely untrue. It was calculated to cause alarm and despondency. The Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, had concurred in the decision.

The Assistant Postmaster-General, Mr. T. C. Barker, said that transmission of the telegrams had been refused under the Post Office Act of 1954. Section 56 of the Act says that any telegram which, in the opinion of the Postmaster-General, contains anything of a blasphemous, indecent, obscene, offensive, or libellous nature, or anything repugnant to the law or decency, shall be refused transmission. Section 74 makes it an offence to make a telephone call or send a telegram for the purpose of causing annoyance, inconvenience, or needless anxiety.

Race Relations Bill

The Race Relations Bill came into force on September 1. It aims at ending the colour bar in tea-rooms, cafés, restaurants, hotel dining-rooms and lounges (apart from bar lounges) and cinemas. Proprietors of these places who retain a colour bar will be subject to severe penalties.

A number of incidents took place between Europeans and Africans. The *Yorkshire Evening Post* (September 3) drew a parallel between the troubles at Little Rock and Notting Hill and commented: "We should maintain a decent silence about any race troubles in America. We have no room to talk, if the statement in a Northern Rhodesia newspaper is accurate. It was," writes the correspondent, "Europeans who assaulted and obstructed police. It was gangs of Europeans who singled out Africans and dragged them to the ground and punched and kicked them. It was a

European who lounged at one entrance to a café, stabbing vicious kicks at every African who passed him. . . ."

For this sort of thing to happen in a Commonwealth country is shameful. That it should take place on the day of the signing of the report of the Monckton Commission on the future of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is a strange coincidence.

Richard Hall (*O.F.N.S.*, September 5) wrote: "When a group of Europeans starts to grow it is quickly broken up. In last week's riots a White mob was allowed to collect—a mob which swore at the police, called them 'White Kaffirs' and hurled bottles at them. The police are bitter and do not mean to let this happen again.

"The police, many of them reservists, find themselves in a bewildering position. Some are normally working down the mines themselves and many are South Africans. I heard two talking in Afrikaans in a doorway. But these men are protecting the Africans from European hatred because of a law which to almost any South African would be anathema. The police are doing a scrupulous job and Africans are confidently eating and drinking in Kitwe's cafés and hotel lounges. In one restaurant a European struck an African hard in the face for no reason except that he was Black. The African was immaculately dressed and well behaved. When police arrived the African was asked if he wished to prefer a charge. He said: 'No, thank you—these people will soon understand.'

"The Nkana Hotel, the favourite meeting place for Copperbelt White miners, has now been almost taken over by African miners and their wives. At the table next to mine on the terrace, one African told his friend 'Man, no policemen will send you away now'; yet less than a week ago any African who had dared to sit on the terrace would have been quickly pitched out on to the pavement.

"The suddenness with which the Northern Rhodesian Government brought the new legislation into force caught everyone by surprise. Although the Government did not explain its haste, it is strongly suspected that the object was to forestall possible criticism of social colour bars by the Monckton Report. Certainly a large number of loose ends still exist. There has not been time to amend the liquor ordinance which bans Africans from drinking in bars where spirits are sold unless they have a permit. Few Africans have understood this distinction and many have been flung out of bars—the last citadels of White social supremacy. The liquor laws are now officially described as 'under consideration'.

"Hurried arrangements have been made, too, to solve the dilemma in cinemas which also became non-racial last week. Previously films in Northern Rhodesia were censored separately for European and African viewing. Last week a new all-embracing censorship board was suddenly announced.

"Several restaurants have overnight turned themselves into clubs. On the Copperbelt cinemas attached to the European mineworkers' palatial clubs are putting up signs 'members only'. This is annoying other Europeans not working in the mines who previously had attended these cinemas without hindrance. Usually the mine cinemas are the only ones in town. In Broken Hill, Sir Roy Welensky's constituency, the lavatories in the main hotel have new notices on their doors: 'For European Gentlemen' and 'For European Ladies'. There is no indication of what the African gentlemen and ladies were expected to do, although they were patronizing the hotel last weekend in large numbers and with great decorum. Nobody seems sure whether this 'lavatory apartheid' is still legal in Northern Rhodesia, but certainly the café proprietors with two tariffs—the more expensive for Africans—are breaking the law by discriminating against one race."

1960—A Time for Action

Sir John Moffatt published a plan for action under the auspices of the Central Africa Party, of which he is leader both at Federal level and in Northern Rhodesia. He starts with the assertion that "the U.F.P. is now completely discredited in the eyes of Africans of all classes. This Party, pre-occupied as it is with maintaining White supremacy, can never attract significant African support. The efforts of the moderates to reform the Party from within have achieved practically nothing during these six wasted years.

"In the application of any agreed solution the British Government has

a major part to play. The speed at which European opinion can adjust itself to our rapidly changing conditions is dangerously slow, in general Europeans are ready to do what should have been done five to ten years ago. In their own interests, action must be taken far in advance of their wishes and only the United Kingdom Government has the power to do so." He lists "some hard facts".

1. Northern Rhodesia is part of the Continent of Africa.
2. African Nationalism has the support of nearly all our African people—and will continue to have it.
3. European power to influence the course of political events is getting less and less.

None of the arguments: (a) They cannot do without the copper mines; (b) they cannot do without European skills and technical and professional ability, and (c) they cannot do without capital—affect the issue of independence, and there is urgent need for united action. Everyone really fears the same thing—a government dominated by one race using its power to abuse other races on grounds of colour. It is impossible to prevent government being dominated by one race or the other, so the only solution is to arrange that any government is incapable of abusing power in this way. To achieve this there must be a realistic plan, based on the following fundamentals.

(a) A written constitution for Northern Rhodesia accepted by representative leaders of all races.

(b) The Constitution must include a Bill of Rights.

(c) The Constitution must be enforceable.

(d) The Constitution must be rigid. The legislature must be powerless to amend the Constitution on its own. Final power should be vested in an independent body of our leading citizens free of political pressures. While the British Government has protecting duties here it would require its nominees on this National Convention. The composition of this National Convention must ensure adequate representation for every racial group, and membership must be balanced so that no one race could carry amendments against the wishes of the other groups. Amendments to the constitution approved by the Legislature would have to pass this National Convention by a stated majority.

(e) There must be a new franchise law. The Constitution should contain the following provisions regarding franchise:

- (i) There will be one common voters' roll.
- (ii) The "reserved seats" should go and the number of constituencies be greatly increased to give a bigger Legislature in which, with the extension of the franchise there could be wider representation.
- (iii) For the initial period of not less than five years the voters' qualification would be such as to establish in urban constituencies an equality of voting power between Europeans and Africans. This cannot of course be exactly achieved, but whatever figure for education and income was calculated to achieve this equation in urban areas should be the one adopted. This would give Africans a large majority of voters in rural areas, but they already have this and because race tensions in rural areas hardly exist the disproportion is of little significance.

The plan is designed:

- (i) To tie up the Legislature during the present period of race consciousness to the extent of preventing it abusing its powers for racial ends.
- (ii) To establish by agreement a Constitution which safeguards the rights of the individual citizen.
- (iii) To give a judicial body power to compel the Legislature to obey the Constitution.
- (iv) To ensure that the safeguards of the Constitution cannot be abolished while any one race feels the need to have them.

Trouble in the Schools

The Commission (Sir Walter Harragin, Mr. H. Makulu and Chief Mapanza) appointed to inquire into the cause of the indiscipline which led to the closing of colleges and schools earlier in the year reported that it was due to "a confused and somewhat misguided enthusiasm for African

nationalism". They did not find evidence that any political party directly instigated strikes at the schools but they were satisfied that the policy of U.N.I.P. and the actions of some of its members were indirectly responsible for the disturbances. They recommended the banning of politics from the schools and from the school debating societies. No student should be allowed to join a political party or attend a political meeting during term-time under pain of expulsion. (*Rhodesia Herald*, July 23.)

All the schools shut down were due to reopen again in August. In some the staff has been changed as recommended in the report. Students were allowed to apply for admission in schools other than the ones from which they had been dismissed. (*Northern News*, July 30.)

The Rev. A. F. Griffiths of the London Missionary Society commented: "In the present explosive situation an embargo on political discussion in schools may seem the immediately easy way out, but it is surely less dangerous for senior students at least to engage in free discussion under proper supervision than for such students to be driven into secret discussion in extremist organizations. One pleads for a recognition that free discussion in the healthy conditions of senior schools, while raising problems for teaching staff, is necessary to prepare Africans to play a proper part in the developing life of their communities." (*The Times*, August 2.)

The annual report on African Education for 1959 showed a total expenditure of £2,684,720. For the whole territory, approximately 60 per cent of the 8-15 year old age group were enrolled in schools. In the Copperbelt urban area 44.5 per cent of the child population was still not in school. Forty-three students were studying outside the Protectorate, thirty-seven of them on official scholarships: sixteen in the United Kingdom, five in South Africa, thirteen at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, two at Makerere and one in Basutoland. Wastage in the schools still appeared to be a problem:

	1st school year	5th year	8th year	12th year
Boys	34,158	12,926	5,368	136
Girls	29,540	4,642	1,300	19
	63,698	17,568	6,668	155

(Excludes unaided schools whose total strength for all classes is approximately 3,500.)

Unemployment Problem

Unemployment has been a constant problem during 1959, but by the end of the year there had been a slight though noticeable improvement, according to the Annual Report of the Department of Labour, published August 29.¹ Uncertainty about the constitutional future which has prevailed throughout the last year or two has probably been responsible for the lack of expansion in the economy of the territory which would have been necessary to maintain the conditions of full employment which prevailed a few years ago. European immigration is carefully controlled and the Federal Ministry of Home Affairs maintains close liaison with the Department of Labour to ensure that immigrants are not permitted to take up jobs if there are suitable local candidates. The ban on immigration of alien Africans (Africans from outside the Federation) which was imposed in 1958, continued in 1959.

There was little Asian unemployment, largely because of the constant demand for Asian shop assistants and the growing tendency to employ Asians in industries to which they have not previously had entry. Euraficans find it difficult to obtain employment unless they have some particular skill. The increasing skills of Africans make it uneconomic for employers to pay higher wages to Euraficans unless they can establish their individual worth. European unemployment is partly accounted for by the industrial recession of the recent past and the end of the post-war building boom and partly because employment is becoming increasingly competitive. A considerable number of married European women continued in employment as shop assistants.

There is no means of assessing accurately the number of unemployed Africans, but it is certain that at all the main centres there was always a

¹Government Printer, Lusaka. 5s.

substantial pool of people who did not work and lived off their more fortunate relatives. Many of them had a completely false idea of the value of elementary educational qualifications and tended in consequence to expect to be employed only in "white collar" jobs.

Throughout the year there has consistently been a number of vacancies for unskilled workers at low wages, particularly in agriculture, which it has not been possible to fill. Preliminary arrangements have been made for the construction of a number of rural employment exchanges which will endeavour to guide the flow of labour coming from rural to urban areas, the report stated.

As in the case of Europeans, skilled Africans, whether their skills lay in technical or academic directions, found it easy to obtain employment. There was a constant and unsatisfied demand for unskilled manual labourers, but the type of work offered did not always suit the Africans. The African who found it most difficult to find satisfactory employment was the workman with little skill, or the clerk with low academic qualifications.

Political Crime on Increase

The Police Annual Report 1959¹ said: "Disturbances and incidents inspired by political agitators were frequent and widespread, and the prevalence of the more insidious instruments of subversion, namely arson, boycotts and intimidation, was a disquieting factor. The widespread nature of such offences placed a heavy burden on the Force, especially those that occurred in the rural areas where police cover is restricted."

On recruitment the Report said intensive efforts to recruit suitable Europeans had been made in South Africa, and by the Commissioner for Northern Rhodesia in London. African recruiting was maintained at a rate limited only by the accommodation available at the training school. There was no shortage of suitable recruits and educational standards were generally high. Quarters for approximately 400 additional African recruits annually were nearing completion at the end of the year.

Rhodesia, Southern

Riots and Arrests

TRouble broke out in Salisbury following the arrests on July 19 of three leaders of the National Democratic Party: Mr. Michael Mawema, President-General, Mr. Sketchley Samkange, the Treasurer-General, and Mr. Leopold Takawira, chairman of the Harare Branch.

Previously Mr. Mawema had indicated that the N.D.P. policy would be more determined. "We now realize it is a waste of time to start fighting for the small things as we have done for years. We have carried passes for sixty years now and have suffered racial discrimination as well. Rather than ending pass laws or discrimination we now feel we should get control of the Government itself and then decide what passes we should carry, if any, and what discrimination to legislate for or against. We can no longer ask the settlers to govern us better but tell them we want to govern ourselves. We want to have a properly organized mass movement by the year end, possibly with a membership of 1 million out of 2½ million Africans, including children. Secondly we want to get all Africans who can qualify for the present franchise to enrol as voters in preparation for the next election; and thirdly we want to make firm demands to the British Government for constitutional changes in Southern Rhodesia. . . . The franchise, the Land Apportionment Act, and other laws which are foundations of the present Governments must be changed." (*Guardian*, July 6.)

The N.D.P. offices were searched by police on July 8: on July 19 many members and sympathizers were searched. The three leaders were charged under the Unlawful Organizations Act. At large meetings held on the same day, crowds were asked to march peacefully to the police station and give themselves up for arrest since they were equally members of an "unlawful organization". The police refused to take action and the demonstrators marched the next day into Salisbury, where the leaders tried to have interviews with the Prime Minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead. Peaceful behaviour was maintained despite crowds of up to 30,000 people. Tear gas was used

by the police and all processions were declared to be illegal in the Salisbury area for a period of three months, under the Public Order Act. Territorial troops of the Royal Rhodesia Regiment were mobilized.

Dr. Terence Ranger of the University College described the sequence of events in Salisbury before the disturbances in the *Central African Examiner Supplement* (July 25). He confirmed that the crowds in Salisbury were well controlled by N.D.P. officials.

Mr. T. G. Silundika told the crowd that the Government's action against the leaders of the N.D.P. meant that Government considered that the N.D.P. was itself an unlawful organization. It was his intention, therefore, to go to the police station at Highfields and surrender himself to the police, and he invited his audience to do the same. Mr. Nkala, the Secretary-General, seconded this proposal and both speakers emphasized the need for order and control.

"We are your leaders. You chose us," said Mr. Nkala, "and thus you should follow our instructions. Don't do anything harmful to anybody. Don't do harm to the police—the police are just carrying out their duties under the existing unjust laws and thus don't even touch their ears, don't shout at them."

A European observer who had witnessed non-violent demonstrations in India compared the march on the police station and the subsequent proceedings favourably with them. Equally all observers remarked upon the restraint shown by the police. Mr. Stanlake Samkange, speaking at the C.A.P. meeting already referred to, stressed in particular that at all stages of the demonstration the regular police carried out their duties in an admirable way.

Once the officer in charge of the police had refused Mr. Silundika's offer to give himself up for arrest the leaders decided to press for an interview with Sir Edgar Whitehead.

But by July 21 rioting broke out, chiefly among youths and schoolchildren; stone-throwing crowds were charged by police using batons and tear gas. Meanwhile a large proportion of the workers who had been on strike had returned to work. Troops of the Rhodesian African Rifles marched through Harare Township: about one hundred Africans were arrested. The Director of African Administration in Salisbury said much of the trouble was due to a misguided order closing the schools which had led to 18,000 running loose. (*Salisbury Evening Standard*, July 22.)

Other African leaders arrested included Stanlake Samkange, vice-president of the Central African Party, and Morton Malianga, vice-president of the N.D.P. In an emergency debate on the situation, Sir Edgar Whitehead said that he had asked for Federal troops until he was sure the trouble was at an end. Dr. Palley (Southern Rhodesia Party) said the trouble had driven the last nail into the coffin of partnership.

The *Sunday Mail* (July 24) said: "What happened at Harare once again demonstrates the appalling tendency of the Bantu to resort to violence on the slightest provocation. Atavistic hooliganism, it seems, is part and parcel of the Black man's make-up, as it has been for centuries. . . . It would be idle to pretend that the violence in the Congo has not had some influence on events here. There is a widespread view, deliberately encouraged, that the European can be intimidated into abdication."

From July 24 the scene of violence moved to Bulawayo where rioters set fire to shops. Over 2,000 armed troops and police were employed, and a further call-up of Territorials took place. Looting broke out and rioters, mainly youths, attacked Africans. The *Rhodesia Herald* (July 27) reported that several Commando-like gangs of marauders were roaming around and that there was "no political pattern to the violence".

Mr. D. Macintyre, Federal Minister of Finance, said that he was satisfied that there was no political reason for the rioting. "The banning of a political meeting only gave an excuse to the loafers and hooligans, nearly all of them apparently single men." He said they wanted some excitement and to gain as much loot as possible. (*Rhodesia Herald*, July 30.) Thirteen Africans were killed and over 320 arrested.

Several suggestions were made that the trouble was in part due to poor housing and widespread unemployment. A fund was started to relieve the distress of those who had suffered from the riots, and various funds were opened both in Rhodesia and in Britain to provide legal defence for those arrested.

Sir Edgar Whitehead attacked the N.D.P., and said "however much

¹Government Printer, Lusaka. 2s. 6d.

the party may in theory be open to all races, the doctrines put forward, the calculated distortions of history and the arguments advanced at political meetings are becoming more and more blatantly militant and anti-European. The theme is that Africa is only for Africans, that Europe is for the Europeans and that all Europeans should go back to Europe. This, coupled with the insistence that the land belongs to the Africans plus the parrot cry of 'One man, one vote' is the core of the movement." Recent meetings had shown a high degree of organization behind the scenes, with posters, lapel tags, cheer leaders and choirs. There was reason to believe that the party's followers had been divided into four groups—the Women's League, the Youth League, the intellectuals and the hooligans. (*Rhodesia Herald*, July 27.)

In a statement the N.D.P. denied these charges and said: "We reiterate that our Party is non-racial. This is evidenced by our increasing Asian and European membership, some of whom took part in our demonstrations as observed by the Prime Minister himself. Our concept of the word 'African' is very embracing and wide. Any citizen, irrespective of colour, who accepts the equality of all human beings is an African. But we would like to make it abundantly clear to those who think they are a super race in Africa, that Africa has no room for them. . . . We are no longer prepared to accept the European generalization that the African here is not yet capable of using the vote responsibly, because we maintain that responsibility rests on character, and good character does not depend on education or material riches. The Prime Minister divides the N.D.P. into four groups, namely, the Women's League, Youth League, the intellectual branch and the 'hooligans' branch. The last two—intellectual and hooligan branches—are all news to us. This is not true. We believe that this is a manoeuvre to discredit the prestige of the N.D.P. in the eyes of the world. . . .

"The spirit, the majority behind the N.D.P., will not be destroyed by either detentions, imprisonments, or even shooting. In view of this, we call upon the Prime Minister to reckon this determination and the strength in this determination." (*Salisbury Evening Standard*, July 29.)

The creation of a new force of special constables open to non-Africans was announced, and the expansion of the African police reserve. About 2,200 recruits were announced including 250 Africans and fifty Coloured and Asians. (*Rhodesia Herald*, August 2.)

The Bishop of Mashonaland, the Rt. Rev. Cecil Alderson, speaking as a churchman and without passing judgment on "the rights and wrongs of the causes of public disturbance", said that members of the Anglican Church in Mashonaland who engaged in acts of violence or terrorization would be excommunicated. (*Rhodesia Herald*, July 30.)

At a private meeting in Salisbury attended by leaders of the C.A.P. and N.D.P. at the end of the first week of riots, an appeal was made to the Southern Rhodesian Government to hold a special all-party conference to discuss the present situation in Salisbury and inter-racial disagreement. Another resolution called on the Government to take five steps to arrest the "dangerous drift" in racial feeling. They were: (a) to widen the franchise to provide for African representation in Parliament; (b) to release all detainees held under an Act passed after the emergency last year; (c) to abandon its intention to have the reserved clauses of Southern Rhodesia's Constitution removed; (d) to proclaim its belief in multi-racial democracy; (e) to begin a programme of advance towards majority rule in the colony in the foreseeable future. Speakers included Mr. Stanlake Samkange, the arrested leaders of the N.D.P., Mr. Guy Clutton-Brock, and Dr. Terence Ranger, a lecturer at the University College. (*The Times*, July 25.)

In a statement issued by three European and two African members of the N.D.P. the U.F.P. Government was accused of attempting to eliminate constitutional opposition by unconstitutional methods, and of consistent ineptitude and insensitivity. "As a result of these events the enmity between the United Federal Party Government and the people has now been confirmed. The policies of the United Federal Party Government are now irremediably associated with racialism and as such they are rejected by the great mass of Rhodesia's population. Henceforward the United Federal Party Government can only hold its position by force." (*Rhodesia Herald*, July 26.)

The *Salisbury Evening Standard*, normally a supporter of the Govern-

ment, wrote: "The picture given to the dispassionate observer is that the White man in the Rhodesias is ringed with hostile forces and is preparing to withstand the siege. It is the 'laager' complex and unfortunately the Prime Minister's broadcast aggravated it. Please do not let us lose our heads. The situation between the races is critical. The races must get together to see if the causes of complaint and grievance can be removed. But ringing ourselves with security forces in a laager will not do that. It will only make the situation more critical."

The *Rhodesia Herald* (July 27) drew attention to a statement by Salisbury's Director of African Administration, Mr. C. R. Briggs. "Africans in townships need a channel through which they can air their grievances. . . . Force is not the answer. If the Africans had a channel, perhaps a committee comprising Europeans and Africans, they would not so easily be a prey to political agitators." The essence of what Mr. Briggs says is that there is not enough contact between Africans and Europeans, between Africans and the Government. It is not enough to reply that there are many, many Africans who qualify for the vote but refuse to get on the voters' roll. It is not enough to say the remedy lies in their own hands. It is surely significant that a comparatively small number of agitators is able to terrorize the vast majority, with a consequent loss of life and repercussions to the economy of the country. It is right and proper that those who preach hatred should be severely dealt with, but once that has been done is the country to fall back into a complacent mood, with the people putting into the recesses of their minds such remarks as "It can't happen here—at least, not again"?

In a broadcast on July 29, Sir Edgar Whitehead said: "We will endeavour to deal with some of the more urgent problems such as African urban housing as a crash programme eliminating the delays inherent in a normal peace-time Government." The *Guardian* (August 1) called this "a piece of astute though not admirable electioneering", and forecast that he might call for an election in October using the Monckton Report as an issue or he might try to pass new legislation to increase the size of the Assembly.

"For most people in Southern Rhodesia this is a twilight period of racial distrust and general uncertainty. Refugees from the Congo have spread wide alarm; Salisbury gunsmiths are sold out of revolvers; the *Rhodesia Herald* is inundated with letters from men like 'Old Sweat' mediocally defiant of the march of history; the Federal Government announces expenditure this year on re-equipping the armed forces of £3 millions which could have gone to schools and hospitals. Sir Edgar will have to spend a similarly large sum in expanding his police force; and this will be bitterly resented by Africans who hardly welcomed the announcement during his broadcast that up to £100,000 may be taken from beer hall profits to 'rehabilitate' Africans whose property was damaged during the riots. Such form of collective fine may provoke a beer hall boycott and so lead to further disturbances. . . .

"Lord Malvern has urged the appointment of a commission to inquire into the recent disturbances in Salisbury and Bulawayo."

The *Times* (August 18) said of the racial policy of Southern Rhodesia: "There can scarcely be any dispute that reforms are long overdue. The greatest paradox of the Rhodesian experiment in racial partnership is that there are Federal members of Parliament, and even junior ministers, but no African town councillors, even in their own townships. The European gesture towards sharing political power with the African started in the highest council of the land—seven years ago at the birth of federation—and quickly stopped there as if alarmed by its boldness and possible rashness. At least, it was not extended in Southern Rhodesia, where every administrative assembly, from Parliament down to town management board, remains exclusively European."

"Years of neglect cannot be remedied overnight. But the burning question of the moment is whether the United Federal Party Government has been shaken out of its complacency and intends to get down in earnest to a bold policy of reform—as it is being urged to do by overseas opinion and by a widening element of European liberal opinion in Southern Rhodesia itself. . . . if the Dominion Party won the next election, Southern Rhodesia would then be hell-bent for apartheid, baaskap and the closest political affinities with South Africa. But the danger of defeat at the polls does not appear to be as great as Sir Edgar imagines. Political talent is

scarce in Southern Rhodesia and what little there is of it usually gravitates to the middle of the road party, the traditional rulers. This leaves the Dominion Party at a sorry disadvantage; on the calibre alone of its candidates it cannot readily command a majority following.

"Increasingly the Prime Minister is being made aware by more enlightened European opinion in the country that, if he keeps his vision narrowed to party politics and the fear of losing an election while more than 90 per cent of the population is clamouring for a better deal, he will signally fail to provide the bold leadership required."

When the N.D.P. leaders were brought to trial, defending counsel included Mr. Herbert Chitepo and Mr. A. I. Maisels, Q.C. (who took part for the defence in the South African Treason Trial). Mr. Stanlake Samkange was acquitted on charges of public violence and contravening the Subversive Activities Act. The trial of Mr. Mawema was transferred to a military training camp thirty miles from Salisbury.

Mr. Sketchley Samkange was found guilty of an offence under the Public Order Act, fined £30 and given a three months' suspended sentence. The magistrate said that the words used by Samkange could engender hostility toward Europeans. They were: "We have been oppressed for a long time by Whites, and we should no longer wish to be ruled by Sir Roy Welensky and Sir Edgar Whitehead. We are being oppressed in the country of our birth and if we tell the truth we are arrested." (*The Times*, August 15, 23, and September 6.)

Mr. Enos Nkala, secretary-general of the N.D.P., was found not guilty on a charge of contravening the Public Order Act. Acquitting him the magistrate said Mr. Nkala had been attacking the Government in the speech in question, and not the Europeans; he had shown himself to be "a strenuous political agitator touching on a tendency to recklessness". (*Daily Telegraph*, September 14.)

Call for Suspension of Constitution

On July 26, Mr. Garfield Todd, former Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, together with Messrs. Joshua Nkomo, Enoch Dumbutshena and Paul Mushonga, members of the N.D.P., took a letter to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations in London which said: "For some years we have pleaded with our Governments to extend the franchise so that we might enjoy political stability in Central Africa. The United Federal Party Governments, however, have chosen to play politics with the even more reactionary Dominion Party and have paid scant attention to the voice of 8 millions of voteless people. . . . Government policies are now maintained by force of arms and are directly responsible for the present unrest.

"Ranged against the great mass of our people are 200,000 Whites with police, an army and an air force; 4 per cent of our population, in the name of civilization, have ranged themselves against the great body of people of our country, refusing liberty, denying justice and flouting the lessons of history. It is imperative that Her Majesty's Government accept the responsibility for taking immediate action to establish a new and democratic régime in Central Africa. At present Britain is supporting an undemocratic and unjust form of government which, if left to itself, must soon disintegrate, causing widespread suffering to all sections of our people. If Britain finds herself unwilling to intervene decisively in this situation within her colonial sphere, a situation in which 80,000 voters are permitted to govern 8 million by military might, then Her Majesty's Government must state this clearly and now. Those people who are now protesting against their Governments in Central Africa will then know that they must depend upon their own strength to gain liberty. We recognize that eventually this would lead to intervention by the United Nations Organization but that there would be much regrettable and unnecessary suffering before this happened. . . . we ask:

"1. That an immediate statement be made to the effect that Her Majesty's Government will intervene in the affairs of Central Africa to establish democratic governments so that the will of the people is implemented.

"2. That the Constitution of Rhodesia be set aside and a democratic order substituted for it.

"3. That Her Majesty's Government come to immediate agreement

with the Federal Government that no troops from the Union of South Africa will be called upon, or permitted to intervene in Central Africa. If South African troops were to be used in Central Africa, it is doubtful if there would be a healing of wounds in the next twenty years.

"4. That, following an immediate statement of intent to set aside the Constitution of Rhodesia, adequate armed forces should be made available from the United Kingdom to ensure that changes in government are made peacefully. It must be recognized that should British troops be sent to Rhodesia to support the present Government against the people of the country, the prestige of Her Majesty's Government would be so damaged that it would be extremely difficult for Britain to assist in any later attempts to establish a democratic régime.

"5. That all necessary measures be taken to bring each of the territories to self-government within the next five years and that elections at the point of self-government should be based upon a universal adult franchise.

"6. That immediate moves should be to transfer powers from the Federal Government to the States. Concurrently with these changes the three territories should be given equal control over what remains of the Federal machine, which should then become the servant of the territories and no longer their master."

Mr. Todd Resigns

Mr. Todd resigned from the leadership of the Central African Party and was succeeded by Sir John Moffat. He later announced his retirement from active politics and said: "I have worked for this system for fourteen years and I have failed. I cannot see the future clearly, but what I can see alarms me . . . only a revolutionary change of attitude by Europeans will prevent a further rapid deterioration in race relations, which ultimately could be resolved only by British intervention." (*The Times*, September 5.)

Subsequently, African leaders of the C.A.P. also resigned. Asked whether the Government proposed to introduce legislation depriving Mr. Todd "and certain other Federal citizens to be named" of their citizenship as a result of their appeal to the British Government, Sir Roy Welensky, the Rhodesian Federal Prime Minister, said that his Government was reluctant to take this step. There was nothing said by Mr. Todd and others which constituted an offence in law. (*The Times*, August 2.)

Appeal to United Nations

Mr. Joshua Nkomo said in Accra that the N.D.P. planned to ask the Security Council of the United Nations to request the British Government to set aside the present constitution of Southern Rhodesia. They wanted independence not in ten years' time but now. (*Ghanaian Times*, August 17.)

Sir Edgar Whitehead described the letter to the British Government as completely irresponsible. Mr. C. Alport, Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, said: "Britain should observe the principle of constitutional behaviour in all matters. The document does not represent wise advice with regard to the future of Southern Rhodesia." Mr. W. J. Harper, leader of the Southern Rhodesia Dominion Party, said: "If accepted, Mr. Todd's proposition for universal adult suffrage would be the death knell of decent law and would certainly be the death knell of European settlement in Southern Rhodesia." (*Rhodesia Herald*, July 28.)

Questions in Parliament

During a debate on the situation in Southern Rhodesia, Mr. John Stonehouse (Labour) said: "Eventually the Africans will run Central Africa. Everybody knows that. Are they to reach that hour by peaceful developments which establish friendly relations between members of all racial communities, or by violence, bloodshed, disorder, and repression which can only engender bitter racial feelings and probably bring a situation in Central Africa similar to that in the Congo—by which we are all absolutely appalled.

"In Southern Rhodesia racist policies have been pursued for many years, and the Government of Sir Edgar Whitehead, not a Government ruling by consent but with the support of only a tiny minority of the population, is now using military power to suppress the people.

"The British Government can act. Our plea is that they should act decisively. We ask Her Majesty's Government to suspend the Southern Rhodesia Constitution so that we can secure peace and good order and

provide a situation in which both races can work together towards a democratic franchise which can give rise to a Government which can rule by consent.

"In 1953 they took such action in regard to British Guiana. Cmd. 1980 says: 'The conduct of Ministers showed no concern for the true welfare of the Colony and threatened its promise as an orderly State; it had seriously endangered the economic life of the country and had set it on the road to collapse.' That is the situation in Southern Rhodesia today. The Ministers have shown no true regard for the welfare of the Colony."

Mr. Peter Kirk (Conservative) said: "The situation is serious, but suspension of a Constitution which has been in force for forty years is so drastic that it is the ultimate sanction which any Government could impose. There is a great difference between suspending the Constitution of British Guiana and the suspension proposed. If the Constitution of Southern Rhodesia is suspended, that will be the end of an experiment in racial partnership in Central Africa. Things could never be the same again. In Central Africa we have tried to build a racial partnership. So far it has not been very successful, but I am not prepared to abandon all hope that it will work. There are still possibilities; they are becoming remote, but they still exist. The Government should call a conference specifically on Southern Rhodesia, without waiting for the report of the Monckton Commission; they should announce now that they will call such a conference at which all the interested parties will be represented. These will include the United Federal Party, the Dominion Party, the National Democratic Party, and any other party which obviously has an interest. As a prerequisite, the leaders of the N.D.P. now in prison would have to be released to take part in such a conference in London, far removed from the difficulties and bitterness which have now arisen in Southern Rhodesia."

Mrs. Judith Hart (Labour) said: "Africa is standing on the brink of war. We must not regard it merely as a Colonial or Commonwealth issue, but as a real issue of peace or war. . . . European settlers in Rhodesia are thrown into panic by recent events in Africa, particularly in the Congo, and it is not surprising that the Southern Rhodesian Government are making this apparent attempt to show they feel concern about the need to prevent any possible African rising against the Whites of Southern Rhodesia. . . . We have tried to convince the settlers of Southern Rhodesia that they cannot hope to solve the problems of their part of Africa by reviving nineteenth-century ideas that one can kill political ideals with a gun. That cannot work. The Government should take immediate action. It is important to the whole future of Africa, of Britain, and of the Commonwealth."

Mr. Peter Tapsell (Conservative) said: "I am sure that if the Southern Rhodesian Government were to ask for British troops to be sent Her Majesty's Government would comply with that request. If this should unhappily prove to be necessary, it is very important that those troops should not appear merely to be bolstering the existing régime. Nothing could be more damaging than that to our influence in Central Africa. I would like to see the British Government summon a conference for Southern Rhodesia similar to that held for Kenya and that now being held for Nyasaland, a conference at which all sections of the people of all races would be represented. It is essential that Her Majesty's Government should now take a political initiative in Southern Rhodesia. For too long the Southern Rhodesian Government has preached and practised apartheid."

Outbreak of Strikes

At Gatooma, African strikers set buildings on fire and about forty miles away at Que Que 1,700 workers went on strike for higher wages and food allowances. Over 400 tea estate workers struck near Umtali. In all places the strikers returned to work after a few days.

The *Guardian* (September 9) commented: "It is believed that these strikes, taking place almost simultaneously at three widely separate points in the country, are just the beginning of many more strikes to come, for the basic minimum wage for urban Africans has remained static for a long time during which the cost of living has jumped. The basic minimum wage, which was set down in 1957 by the then Premier, Mr. R. S. Garfield Todd, is £6 10s.

"At that time the Plewman Commission, which was set up to investigate the conditions of Africans in urban areas, recommended £14 10s. as

the barest subsistence monthly wage for Africans in urban areas. The Interracial Association, now defunct, conducted its own investigations and recommended £15 as the subsistence wage. In the same year the African teachers made their own survey and said that the headline wage for the African was £20. Recent surveys conducted by interested individuals have put the figure at £25. The average wage for Africans in the whole of Southern Rhodesia is £5 8s. 11d. while that of Africans in the urban areas is £8 10s. It should be pointed out that the figures of £14 10s., £15, and £20 were suggested three years ago and by now they are out of date since the cost of living has risen sharply. . . .

"The position of the urban African has been made worse recently in that he is having to look after his brother who has been thrown out of the reserve by the carrying out of the Land Husbandry Act. The Chief Native Commissioner said in his report recently that no less than 200,000 Africans would be rendered landless by this Act. Those rendered landless are rushing to the urban areas where there is already a high rate of unemployment and shortage of housing. While looking for jobs they sponge on their brothers. . . . It is understood that on many occasions the National Democratic Party has been urged by some of its members to take up the question of African wages with the Government but the N.D.P. leaders are not enthusiastic about that. They argue that they are a political party and are therefore not concerned with labour matters. But it is wondered for how long the N.D.P. is going to resist the temptation to exploit the question of the Africans' low wages in order to demonstrate the strength of the Party and for how long it will resist pressure to do so from its followers."

Changes in Policies and Partners

Major-General Sir John Kennedy, Governor of Southern Rhodesia from 1946-54, is to be chairman of a national *indaba* (convention) to be held in November. The proposal for a large interracial meeting was made by Sir Charles Cumings, formerly resident director of the British South Africa Company. (*The Times*, September 6.)

The Southern Rhodesia Constitution Amendment Bill, which increases the number of members of the Legislative Assembly from thirty to fifty was passed. The Bill requires the Queen's assent, since it alters the Constitution.

In presenting the Bill, the Prime Minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead, said he believed that the increased House could include three or four African members.

The *Guardian* (August 1) said there were three good reasons for Sir Edgar Whitehead wanting the Bill:

1. If more powers were to be handed back from the Federal Government to the Territorial Government, more Ministers would be required.
2. By redistribution of seats, the present bias in favour of the smaller rural constituencies where the Dominion Party gained its strength could be corrected.
3. A few constituencies could be arranged where Africans could be elected without any change being made in the franchise.

Mr. S. E. Aitken-Cade and Mr. H. Grey resigned from the Dominion Party, because they felt the extreme right-wing element had taken control. The position in the Southern Rhodesian Assembly became U.F.P. seventeen, D.P. ten, Independents two, Southern Rhodesian Party one. The Southern Rhodesian Dominion Party decided to follow the lead of Mr. W. J. Harper in putting "Southern Rhodesia first". The formation of the New Rhodesia Party was announced: it wants dominion status within the Commonwealth and to aid Northern Rhodesia to be free of Colonial rule. (*Rhodesia Herald*, August 4.)

The second report of the Select Committee on the Resettlement of Natives recommended the repeal of the Land Apportionment Act. The committee was chaired by Mr. H. J. Quentin, now Minister of Native Affairs, and its five members included Mr. Aitken-Cade and Mr. Grey. After discussing the historical development of land apportionment, the report said that the cost of resettling African families according to the present division of land allocation would be £28 million and the "country cannot afford to resettle these Africans". Despite the protective element of the present Act, it was in certain aspects a brake on economic progress. The position must be achieved when agricultural land anywhere in Southern Rhodesia may be purchased by anyone of any race. Once it is

generally appreciated that land is a commercial asset, that it can be bought or sold by anyone, that the return derived from it is commensurate with what is put into it by the owner in capital, skill and labour, be he Black or White, then many of the emotional pressures will disappear . . . land in general, whether urban or agricultural, should be purchasable by anyone, anywhere, irrespective of race or colour . . . no good purpose would be served by moving any Africans from the land they are now occupying. The solution appears to be to leave them where they are and to apply to each particular area the pattern of development—Native purchase or Native land husbandry—which circumstances dictate.

An interim period is proposed leading eventually to the abolition of all restrictions on land, with the exception of National Parks, Forests, etc.

LAND (in millions of acres)

	Present	Interim	After Repeal of Act
African	42	44	Nil
European	48	38	Nil
National Parks, etc.	7	10	10
Common Land	Nil	5	87
	97	97	97

National Parks should be returned to the administration of the Southern Rhodesian Government from the Federal Government. For African agriculture a team of world-recognized experts should be invited to draw up a development plan. "People are more important than land"—"development must be focused mainly on the welfare of people and not mainly on the improvement of land". "The problem of investment in human resources is not an isolated problem of training alone, it is a problem associated with incentives, expanding horizons of wants, and supply of capital whereby new skills can be put to good use. It is part and parcel of the problem of transforming backward, illiterate producers into relatively efficient small-scale producers. There is no short cut in achieving this goal but it is an essential task if there is to be any expansion of output per acre." Under the proposed interim arrangement Africans should be able to purchase land freehold anywhere in the African Land (e.g. whether in reserves or purchase areas).

Mr. Harper (D.P.), leader of the Opposition, described the report as "a sledgehammer blow at European settlement in Southern Rhodesia. If this report is acted upon, as it may well be, then with all humility I say, 'God help Southern Rhodesia'."

The Central African Party said: "The select committee, after examining the full facts, has come to the only possible conclusion—that apartheid is an expensive luxury which Southern Rhodesia cannot afford. The report presents an unemotional and uncontested case for removing barriers which prohibit full economic development of the country. . . . We predict that if this is done the resulting increasing prosperity will convert the most diehard supporters of land separation, and we think the interim period of adjustment which the committee envisages (twenty years) will be much shorter."

The Confederate Party condemned the recommendations. It says that any such action would represent a further encroachment by African influence in the European sector, and a further step along the road of partnership which would lead inevitably to Black rule. (*The Times*, August 19.)

Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Federation of

More Scope for the Federation

THE Rhodesia National Farmers' Union resolved to request the Government to take immediate steps to place all aspects of agriculture under Federal control. At present the Federal Government controls all European

agriculture in the Rhodesias, but African agriculture is handled by various territorial Government departments. (*Rhodesia Herald*, July 24.)

A central police force with jurisdiction all over the Federation was urged by Mr. R. M. Rich (U.F.P.). He was perturbed by the lack of control at the centre over law and order in the Federation. . . . The three Territorial forces should be preserved and a fourth force with Federal responsibility created. It should be a co-ordinating body. All the police force should be under unified control. In this way it would be possible for the Federal Government to take more effective steps to curb lawlessness and intimidation in the Federation. (*Rhodesia Herald*, July 8.)

University Education

The Principal of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Dr. Walter Adams, said that if plans went without a hitch, the University area would become a Federal territory within a year. He was interviewed after Lord Malvern opened the new £16,000 sports pavilion. Rhodesia Breweries gave £10,000 of this figure. . . . Dr. Adams said: "Under local laws Black and White cannot mix for drinks here unless we were to give the drinks away somehow. There are other similar questions which arise too."

"So we intend to ask that the University's 500 acres become Federal territory, which means we shall have to go through the Salisbury Local Authority, the Southern Rhodesia Government, the Federal Government and the Governor-General. I think it will be done without much difficulty." (*Rhodesia Herald*, June 28.)

The Federal Government is spending £28,000 a year in scholarships for Africans: 113 African men and six women are being sent to universities in Britain, Uganda, Basutoland, South Africa and the Federation's own University College.

Multi-Racial Medical School

The Federal Government has decided to create in Salisbury a multi-racial teaching hospital and medical school adjacent to the University. This decision follows the advice of the medical school planning committee.

The Nuffield Foundation has promised £250,000 and Birmingham University has agreed to sponsor the new medical school, so that successful students would be awarded degrees of that University.

The new hospital will cost £1.4 million and will provide 350 beds, about 200 of which would be for Europeans. There would be separate ward accommodation for each race and the consent of all patients would be obtained before their cases were made available for teaching purposes. Already £1 million had been committed in the Federal Government plan for a new European hospital at Salisbury, so that the sum now sought is £400,000.

The change of plan from a European to a multi-racial hospital has caused the Government to be subjected to pressure from some quarters but this has so far been resisted. It is considered that the new decision has important implications for the whole of Central Africa in far wider terms than just the teaching of medicine.

There is at present no medical school at all in the territory. The school as suggested will cost a further £1 million. About 126 students are at present training outside the territory, at considerable expense to their own and other Governments. For instance, the total cost of training a medical student at a London hospital has been estimated at £9,000.

The shortage of doctors is a very serious problem for the Federation. For example in the existing Government hospitals there is an establishment of nineteen junior medical officers, but in fact there are only two officers in this grade, both in Salisbury. If the extra funds are not quickly available the Government has stated that it will have to revert to the original plan for a European hospital for which the original £1 million was allocated. (*Guardian*, July 15.)

Economic Developments

Net national income in the Federation went up by 13 per cent in 1959 after two years of near stagnation. . . . In 1959 the net national income was £440 million compared with £380 million in 1957 and £389 million in 1958.

The rise in the national income mainly stemmed from the increase in

copper company profits. . . . The decline in investment activities is underlined by the figure for long term private capital which came to the Federation in 1959. It dropped by nearly £10 million to £14 million last year. (*Rhodesia Herald*, June 29.)

The Managing Director of Voice and Vision Ltd., the public relations consultants who will try to "sell" the Federation overseas, said that they would not rely only on official sources for their information, but on the "greatest possible number" of people, organizations and groups who want to help. The firm would use the "rifle technique, not the shotgun". It would not produce masses of information which news editors of newspapers would promptly throw into the waste basket. The firm's specialists in London would approach individual journalists in their efforts to "project the story of the Federation" to the Press, Parliament and people in the City and so attract interest and money.

Asked if more use could not be made in Britain of knowledgeable people in the Federation to combat bad publicity—for example, getting people entrance to the B.B.C. to put the other side of the picture—he replied: "This is exactly what we are trying to do." (*Rhodesia Herald*, July 19.)

Dominion Party Split

Mr. W. J. Harper, leader of the Dominion Party in Southern Rhodesia, continued to criticize the Federation. He favoured the looser type of Federation or alliance, since he did not think the United Kingdom would accept the D.P. Central Africa Alliance Plan.

"The plan was a basis for discussion, but I do not personally think the United Kingdom or the Monckton Commission will recommend the cutting up of Northern Rhodesia so that we can have the line of rail. It was a basis for discussion, but if we can't do anything for the Northern Rhodesians, then I think we should go for a looser type of Federation or alliance on somewhat the same basis as the Commonwealth, N.A.T.O. and the Berelux countries." Complete secession for Southern Rhodesia was a last resort. "We would have a £3 million deficit and a £48 million Budget, but we would know exactly where we were going. There might be a certain tightening up of belts, but there would be a great spirit abroad in this country."

He referred to Southern Rhodesia's mineral potential, and said that in the last two years the Colony had been the greatest contributor of wealth to the Federation—more so than Northern Rhodesia. He added: "I have no Colour consciousness—but that does not mean that we are not going to keep the control of Southern Rhodesia in European hands for the foreseeable future." (*Rhodesia Herald*, June 15.)

The Federal Division of the Dominion Party led by Mr. W. J. Field has broken away from the Southern Rhodesian Division to form a separate political party to be known as the Federal Dominion Party. The new group continued to advocate the Central African Alliance. It was suggested that the new move might make it easier to form a coalition between the F.D.P. and the U.F.P. under Sir Roy Welensky. (*Rhodesia Herald*, July 6.)

New Defence Plan

A plan costing nearly £3 million, to boost, reorganize and re-equip substantially the Federation's defence forces to meet both internal and external requirements, was outlined by the Federal Defence Minister, Mr. J. M. Caldicott.

The plan includes raising a new regular volunteer European army battalion, a regular European Special Air Services squadron and a regular European reconnaissance squadron.

Speaking during the debate the Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, said he was not so much afraid of any direct military threat to the Federation as of the danger of Communist subversion. The infiltration of insidious propaganda had now to be expected and, as far as possible, combated.

Sir Roy also warned: "I am afraid the time has come when social services will have to take second place. In the light of changed conditions we must see that we are able to deal with circumstances as they arise."

He said: "There is little time to be lost, because to a large extent the

West have lost the initiative in the struggle for Africa. We have allowed the Soviet countries to have the initiative all the time."

There was a lesson for the Federation in what was happening in the Congo. It should be taken as a grave warning to all who lived in this country. . . . It has been our role to bring the light of civilization to this continent and we have no intention of letting it be snuffed out. The Government's policy was based on partnership and a qualitative franchise. The country was "an island of sanity in this continent as it is today. . . . I have heard it said that Africans will never tolerate Communism, but will they have any choice? Some African leaders might welcome Communist intervention as a means of becoming the dictators they desire to be. . . . The Federation does not stand alone. I have no doubt that should the need arise the other members of the Commonwealth would rally to our aid without hesitation."

For this reason he did not agree with the suggestion that the Federation should enter into a military pact with the Union. That would mean singling out one member of the Commonwealth and implying that the support of the others could not be relied upon. (*Rhodesia Herald*, July 20.)

Citizenship Act

Sir Malcolm Barrow, Federal Minister of Home Affairs, said in the Federal Parliament that the Government felt it "important now to have the power to refuse citizenship to British subjects if necessary, and to deprive citizens by registration of citizenship in certain circumstances". He moved the second reading of the Citizenship of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and British Nationality Amendment Bill which gave the power to deprive British subjects of citizenship where they had been imprisoned without option of a fine for serious offences relating to violence, sedition, and subversive activities.

Sir Malcolm said that before a person could be deprived of citizenship the Minister must serve notice on him, and he might then ask for a commissioner to examine and report on the case. (*Guardian*, August 10.)

In an earlier debate, Lord Graham (F.D.P.) said that it appeared that there was a lot of European influence behind the racial troubles in the country. "A lot of these 'chairborne revolutionaries' are very skilful at skipping off the stage before trouble starts, and therefore only the Africans get arrested while the European troublemakers go free."

A motion by Mr. R. L. Moffat (representing African interests in Northern Rhodesia) that the House recognizes that African majorities in the legislatures of the two Protectorates are inevitable and urges the Government to accelerate its programme for the implementation of the policy of partnership to ensure that Africans are available and trained to play their part throughout the Federal sphere of responsibility was defeated. There was no question of surrendering the Government of the Federation to Africans, said Mr. J. M. Greenfield, Minister of Law, "We are determined that the Europeans are going to play their part with the Africans in the administration of this country." (*Rhodesia Herald*, August 3 and 4.)

Two Points of View

"New Orbits", a "ginger group" within the British Liberal Party, published a booklet on the Federation called *Conceived in Fraud*. It said that partnership in Central Africa has been a fraudulent principle, and states: "The so-called 'partnership' of the Federation is a dead letter simply because the great majority of Africans are no longer interested in it. They now demand independence." This fact made nonsense of federation. African self-determination represents the only final solution. Liberals cannot be content with federation either as it stands or as Sir Roy Welensky envisages it. It is "our duty" to all citizens of Central Africa to give every practical aid, having declared the aim—and the timetable—of African self-determination. The solution the authors favoured for the problems of Central Africa was on the pattern of Nigeria, with constitutional advance tied to the economic situation. There should also be a timetable similar to that in Tanganyika. (*Guardian*, July 8.)

Mr. Ian Hess wrote: "The only good that can come of the tragic events in the Belgian Congo is that they may demonstrate the criminal folly of the policies the Labour Party has been advocating for the Congo's neighbour, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. . . . Stripped of its

trimmings the Labour Party wants Black-dominated governments, without delay, in the Federation and its constituent territories. It wants this regardless of the fact there are nowhere near enough responsible Black leaders and administrators to take over the country. It wants it in spite of the fact that the African leaders who would, in fact, take over if Black majorities were introduced in the legislatures of the Federation today, would be men who make no secret of the fact that they will use violence if they feel it will pay (as distinct from the responsible African leaders who condemn violence and, in turn, are condemned by the Labour Party as 'stooges').

"The Federation must, of course, like all African countries, be given its independence soon. Where the great hope lies in the Federation is that that independence will not have to be handed to a *herrenvolk*-minded all-White Government (as the Liberal Party were silly enough to do in South Africa in 1910) nor to an equally Black *herrenvolk*-minded all-Black Government (as the Belgians have been silly enough to do in the Congo fifty years later). In the Federation, in a very short time, it will be possible to grant independence to the multi-racial Government of a multi-racial country—a Government in which the members find their places on merit and on the basis of skin-colour. As in other parts of South, Central and East Africa, few Africans were being trained for senior responsible jobs in Rhodesia and Nyasaland before federation. The advent of federation and the racial partnership policy has changed that, and today Africans are being trained for, and are moving into, higher and higher jobs in government, industry, commerce, mining, and agriculture." (*Guardian*, July 15.)

EAST AFRICA Ethiopia

Clashes with Somalis

THREE passengers were killed by bandits who attacked the Djibouti-Addis Ababa express between Addis Ababa and Dire-dawa on August 10. The bandits were believed to have been Somali tribesmen. (*The Times*, August 15.)

On August 17, a clash occurred between Somali tribesmen infiltrating into Ethiopian territory and the Ethiopian police. An Ethiopian source said that a "gang of bandits" from former British Somaliland who were trying to capture an Ethiopian security force post at Biyu Anot in Ogaden were driven off. (*The Times*, August 20.)

It was reported that feeling was mounting in the northern region of the Somali Republic following reports of Ethiopian military action against Somalis living in Ethiopian-held territory north-west of the Borama district.

A patrol of Borama illaloes, which was patrolling in the northern region, said that they heard the shooting and when they attempted to get near to the scene they were fired upon by a party of Ethiopians. The patrol reported that it had not crossed into the Ethiopian-occupied territory, and that it withdrew without returning the fire.

A spokesman at the Regional Headquarters, Hargeisa, said that the whole situation was being carefully watched and that the Government at Mogadishu was being kept aware of the developments. The spokesman added that extra police and illaloes had been detailed to reinforce security patrols in the area. (*Somaliland News*, August 22.)

The Government press in Ethiopia accused the new Somali Republic of not reciprocating Ethiopia's desire for friendly relations. In a leading article the *Ethiopian Herald* (September 12) accused Somali tribesmen of repeatedly crossing the frontier and violating the peace and security of Ethiopian citizens by looting and killing. These incidents, the paper said, "cast doubt on the desire of the Somali authorities to reciprocate Ethiopia's wish to improve the two countries' relations".

Immediately after the Somali Republic achieved independence in July, Ethiopia named an Ambassador to Mogadishu, but a reciprocal gesture was anxiously awaited, the paper remarked, going on to wonder whether there was not "some hidden foreign hand" behind the Somali attitude in her relations with Ethiopia. (*The Times*, September 5.)

Soviet Scholarships

Emperor Haile Selassie received Mr. Georgi Zhukov, the chairman of the Soviet State Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. Mr. Zhukov was understood to have offered a large number of scholarships for young Ethiopians. It was believed, however, that the Ethiopian Government did not favour permitting them to be accepted. (*The Times*, September 2.)

Marathon Record

Abebe Bikila of Ethiopia broke the world record for the Marathon, and won an Olympic Games gold medal. He is a member of the Household Guard of Emperor Haile Selassie. He was trained by an American serviceman who has been advising him in Ethiopia. *The Times* (September 12) commented that with less than a mile to go Abebe moved smoothly away. "The torches waved in the Appian Way and an Ethiopian came up the route of the conquerors in a city where his ancestors had once been brought as slaves."

Kenya

No Short Cut to Independence

THE Governor, in a broadcast, said: "The eagerness of politicians to find short cuts is understandable but, I think, a real danger to our future. . . . In my judgement, the people know that they are on the right path now, and they do not want further disturbances and all the restrictions and other security action which must go with them. They know that African leaders now have the fullest say in all Government decisions. Any leader seeking short cuts through rashly lowered standards or strikes and civil disturbances would have to consider very carefully whether the great mass of his countrymen, as distinct from a few hot-heads, would really be in favour of such methods, would really be helped to more than temporary excitement if they succeeded. The Government of course, has plans and resources to deal with civil disobedience. It will have the power, if necessary, to carry on indefinitely an efficient if undemocratic government of officials without one or more of the groups of elected members. I do not think anyone will doubt my determination to use such plans and powers if I think that the stability and economy are threatened on which must rest the sound and peaceful evolution of the people of Kenya to speedy and worthwhile independence." (*The Times*, September 1.)

This speech drew sharp criticism from Mr. Tom Mboya, general secretary of the Kenya African National Union, who said he felt that some of his people would see it as "deliberate intimidation on the part of the Governor which does not benefit his position". His own immediate reaction was that there was "nothing new in it". He said that the people would be told that their independence depended very much upon themselves, and that it would not be considered as a gift. He added that he was not disturbed by the Governor's statement, and it did not alter his objectives.

On September 3, Kanu's general council sent a telegram to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, describing the speech as "ill-conceived, uncalled for, and dangerous. Tough talk, intimidation and the like will not create harmony nor ensure stability for Kenya. The Governor has completely misread the people's mood and the political climate of the country."

Addressing an Asian audience, Mr. Mboya was cheered when he criticized the Governor and European and Asian leaders "who want to retain the *status quo*". He said: "What is the use of asking me to advocate economic security for Europeans and Asians if there is no economic security for my own people? We want stability and security, law, and order, but we must reserve the right to ask: 'What kind of stability and at what expense?' " Recalling that he had recently been stopped from making speeches in the Central and Nyanza provinces, and had been told he might say things likely to create instability and disorder, he said: "If this is the Government's attitude, what right has it to expect me to cooperate and create stability?"

The Governor had acted "like a junior district assistant"—but he

should not talk to Africans as if they were street corner boys. The Governor's statement that there would be no further constitutional progress without agreement between the races has caused Africans to look at the immigrant races as a block to their progress. (*Guardian*, September 17.)

On the other hand, Mr. Ronald Ngala, the president of the Kenya African Democratic Union, who is also Minister of Labour, said that he personally would like to see the Lancaster House constitution implemented, and pointed out that all the fourteen African Elected Members, including Mr. Mboya, had agreed to it at the time, and that it had been endorsed by the conference of all African political leaders in March.

Support also came from the K.A.D.U. political adviser, Mr. Teita Towett, who "agreed entirely" with the Governor's views. He added: "This is not because I am Assistant Minister for Agriculture, nor because I am a politician, but because I believe in truth and democratic principles as well as in the good of humanity. Some very irresponsible demagogues will soon be going about the country telling the people lies about independence. We must be honest with ourselves and not be swayed by the emotion and mobocratic influence."

The leader of the New Kenya Group, Mr. Michael Blundell, welcomed the speech as a "real challenge to all leaders of the country for positive action". He said that they should note in particular the Governor's emphasis on the point that there would be no short cuts to independence, and his rejection of bullying as a method of achieving advance.

The leader of the United Party, Group Captain L. R. Briggs, said that the United Party had to ask what steps could be taken to ascertain the views of different races, having regard to the fact that Europeans and Asians would no longer have genuine representation.

Sir Ferdinand Cavendish-Bentinck, leader of the Kenya Coalition, said that Sir Patrick Renison's speech had expressed views and intentions far more categorical than any yet extracted from the Secretary of State. He added: "It was an unequivocal declaration of policy long overdue, and it should help restore confidence in the colony. We are certainly facing the biggest crisis in our short but eventful history." (*The Times*, September 2.)

The Next Election

Registration of voters at the forthcoming election has been completed. It is expected that the General Election will take place in February 1961. Current plans are for nomination day to be in January, primary elections for reserved seats three weeks later and the common roll voting in open and reserved seats a fortnight after that. (*Kenya Newsletter*, August 30.)

Coalition Party Policy

On his return from his six-week mission in London, Sir Ferdinand Cavendish-Bentinck, leader of the Kenya Coalition,¹ denied that he had spread alarm and despondency in City circles on Kenya's future. Sir Ferdinand, who had been pleading the cause of the colony's minority communities for a fair deal under the new constitution, said he had given the facts to businessmen and others and had asked them for points which might be contributing to their lack of confidence respecting further investment and development in Kenya. He felt that his mission had been a great success and that its good timing had been underlined by the Congo difficulties, which were "not entirely unanticipated". People in Britain had at last begun to worry about Kenya's share market and its economic position. The Coalition had played its part in getting people to take a more realistic outlook.

Sir Ferdinand said he had no plans at present to form a new political party. He would tour the country explaining what he had done in London to those who had subscribed to his mission, and he might have to return to London when Parliament resumed. (*The Times*, August 12.)

He stated that his mission, which represented farming interests more than commercial groups, hoped to gain from the British Government four main guarantees. These were for an orderly and planned transition period; security from intimidation; security of land titles and support for land values; and security of contract for Civil Servants.

Clyde Sanger writing in the *Guardian* (August 13) commented that it did not appear that the mission gained very much. "When asked the one important question, Sir Ferdinand replied: 'It isn't for me to say whether

¹DIGEST VIII, 1.

I changed Mr. Macleod's mind. He is a pretty strong-minded person.'"

Mr. Macleod, he wrote, had disposed of Sir Ferdinand's fourth plea with his announcement that Britain would spend between £10 million and £20 million a year for ten years to guarantee the contracts of 25,000 Colonial Civil Servants. Of this £2 million would be spent in Kenya in the first year.

"There was no indication that constitutional advance would be slowed up which was the common interpretation of the Coalition's request for 'a planned and orderly transition'. And there was no evidence yet that Britain was prepared to support land values with a stabilization fund which Sir Ferdinand had reckoned would require £35 million to back it. In fact the British Government's attitude seemed to be hardening in the other direction, if one could judge from the recent speech of the Kenya Minister of Lands, Mr. Havelock. In this speech he said: 'If indeed an independent Government of Kenya would be so irresponsible as to take the risk of undermining the economy of the country by expropriation without compensation, is it not just tempting them to do so by saying someone else would pay?'

"Sir Ferdinand was asked whether Mr. Blundell and other colleagues had been trying to sabotage the Coalition's efforts by touring Britain at the same time and putting separate opinions. He replied: 'I am very anxious to try to keep everyone together and not to force differences.' And then a little more tartly: 'It is true that Mr. Blundell addressed almost every group that he could find I was going to address, and he did say that I was trying to obtain privileges for a minority group.'

"The next few months would show whether Sir Ferdinand or Mr. Blundell represents 'the future'. There were several signs to suggest that the New Kenya Party will fare well in the common roll elections in the new year."

Sir Ferdinand Cavendish-Bentinck subsequently announced he would form a new political party, which will sponsor candidates in the general election in February. He said the Kenya Coalition would seek to unite the European electorate in Kenya on "a reasonable and liberal programme which will protect their legitimate interests without disputing or trying to hinder the inevitable transfer of power to the African people themselves."

He expressed the hope that Group Captain Briggs and "other right-wing settler leaders" would not contest the general election, but that other members of the United Party would merge in the Coalition, whose nominees would then contest the ten seats reserved for Europeans against New Kenya Party candidates led by Mr. Blundell. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, September 8.)

Jomo Kenyatta

Six Ministers visited Jomo Kenyatta on August 10. They were the Chief Secretary (Mr. W. F. Coutts), the Minister for Defence (Mr. A. C. C. Swann), the Minister for Agriculture (Mr. Bruce McKenzie), the Minister for Commerce and Industry (Dr. J. G. Kiano), the Minister for Labour, Social Security and Adult Education (Mr. R. G. Ngala), and the Minister for Health (Mr. J. N. Muimi). They interviewed five restrictees—Jomo Kenyatta, Paul Ngei, Beldad Kaggia, Fred Kubai and Kungu Karungu, in the District Commissioner's office. The restrictees appeared to be in good health; they handed a list of requests for improvements in living conditions to the Chief Secretary. These requests are being looked at to see if they can be granted. The restrictees were well informed on current events. Although encouraged to do so, they refused to discuss political matters. (*Kenya Newsletter*, August 16.)

On August 18, the Chief Secretary, Mr. Coutts, announced that he was handed a petition signed by Kenyatta and the others declaring that all five men felt they had the right to meet African political leaders to discuss Kenya's future. They demanded that officials of the Kenya African Democratic Union, the Kenya African National Union and African Elected Members who are not Ministers should be allowed to visit them.

The petition declared that during the past eight years of "enforced silence" many changes had taken place in Kenya. One constitution after another had been experimented with and many agricultural and social developments had taken place. "While we have been quiet in the past, the time has now come when we feel we cannot keep quiet any longer. We, as

nationalist political prisoners who have been suffering for the cause of freedom, and national independence, consider the present political situation in Kenya as very grave indeed. With this view in mind we have been waiting with all hopes to meet African political leaders and members of Kenya Legislative Council."

The petition stated the present Ministers were either colonial Civil Servants or the Governor's nominees and therefore not true representatives of African national aspirations. For this reason the signatories had decided not to discuss any political matters with the Chief Secretary and his Ministers. (*Daily Telegraph*, August 19.)

Mr. Tom Mboya called on the Kenya Government to bring to open trial all people arrested in a security operation against administrators of illegal oaths. In a press statement (August 16) he complained that the arrested men were not allowed to see their wives and families. Mr. Mboya also demanded the immediate release of Jomo Kenyatta, and all other restricted persons. He claimed that Kenyatta was a supporter of K.A.N.U. and repeated his demand that Mr. James Gichuru, president of K.A.N.U. and other party leaders should be allowed to visit him.

Mr. Masinde Muliro, deputy leader of the Kenya African Democratic Union, announced, on August 17, that his party had decided to earmark Kiambu constituency at next year's election for Kenyatta. He said that K.A.D.U. would not contest Kiambu and called on the rival K.A.N.U. to do the same and "respect our leader's seat". (*Guardian*, August 17.)

Clyde Sanger, writing in the *Guardian* (August 17) pointed out that although Kenyatta had refused to discuss politics with the six Ministers, the messages he has sent to African leaders and the conversations he has had with his local member, Daniel Arap Moi, indicate considerable moderation.

Congo Repercussions

In early July the formation of White vigilante groups was announced. These moves were sparked off by Congo developments and the settlers' determination to prepare for a possible repetition in Kenya with the advent of African rule. The movement was backed by several prominent Europeans, including the Legislative Council member for Rift Valley, Major B. P. Roberts, and Mr. Rex Kirk, Mayor of Eldoret. Another Legislative Council member, Air Commodore Howard Williams, opened a list of Nairobi volunteers of a group prepared for immediate action but under police control. Archbishop Leonard Beecher was among Church leaders who joined in condemning "the barren suggestion of private armies", pointing out that the responsibility for law and order rests with Government. (*Observer*, July 24.)

On July 25, Sir Charles Markham (Ukamba) told a meeting of settlers at Thika that if they wanted to prepare themselves for any future events there were proper ways of doing so through the district associations. If they formed private armies they would lay themselves open to the suspicions of the Africans, the Asians, and the world. He did not think people in Kenya should be panicked by events in the Congo, but they should not be complacent. Those who wanted to be prepared, should join the Kenya Police Reserve or should urge that the Kenya Defence Force be re-formed. (*The Times*, July 27.)

Land Consolidation

On August 23, the Government announced that large numbers of land holdings in the Fort Hall district would have to be remeasured as errors had been found in the demarcation made under the Government's land consolidation scheme. The scheme involves some 300,000 acres and the C.I.D. was investigating allegations of corruption.

Land consolidation schemes have been successfully carried out in two other Kikuyu areas, Kiambu and Nyeri; and in Nyeri about 43,000 farmers have been resettled on 199,000 acres. In Kiambu about 300,000 acres have been "consolidated". The task of land consolidation teams had been to measure the farmers' fragments and redraw individual boundaries, so that each farmer has the same total of land as before but all in one place. They also took the opportunity to persuade farmers to grow more high-value crops like coffee and pyrethrum. The operation in the Nyeri area cost £100,000.

Those who were found to have suffered any loss of land were given a lump sum in compensation. But in the Fort Hall area there were far more claims than there was land available. The reason was plain: certain officials concerned with the measurement of the fragments are suspected of having been bribed by the farmers to enter exaggerated figures.

As the land complaints have, since before the Mau Mau stirred the Kikuyu more quickly to wrath than anything else, a major political storm was forecast. There were even those who felt that the Government was putting off the evil day of full explanation.

The announcement shows that after hesitation the Government feels that it has nothing to hide at a high level and it can convince the people of this by an explanation in good time. First reactions among the Kikuyu seem to show that by and large they appreciate the Government's candour and are glad to have a promise of fair treatment. They are even prepared to pay a second fee of 10s. towards the cost of being "reconsolidated". (*Guardian*, August 24.)

Land Reform

The Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Bruce McKenzie, has announced plans for the non-racial and non-tribal development of land over the next three years at a cost of about £14 million.

The Minister told the House that £6 million would be needed for land purchase and that five main schemes were included in the plan.

Mr. Wilfred Havelock, Minister for Local Government and Lands, described the Government Sessional Papers on Land Policy¹ as "one of the most important and significant changes in Kenya's history. . . . No longer will our agricultural land be subject to racial allocation but it will be available for proper and intensive development by farmers of any race, provided that such individuals have the capacity and the means to fulfil this great responsibility." The finance now in sight, as a result of the recent visit to the United Kingdom by the two Ministers should be very adequate to achieve two things. It should allow the Government to relieve some of the population pressure in certain parts of the Native Lands and it should inject into the agricultural industry generally sufficient finance to renew confidence in that industry and to maintain reasonable land values.

Referring to the security of land titles, Mr. Havelock said if land reform and resettlement schemes were to be of permanent value it was necessary that, not only present landowners, but also those to be resettled, were assured that their titles and occupancy were secured. It was logical, therefore, that the clarification of position regarding title and security of tenure was a prerequisite to the introduction of the new policy. Mr. Havelock assured the House that the British Government fully recognized the importance and urgency of this.

Outlining plans for land development, the Minister for Agriculture, Mr. McKenzie, said the Government had been guided by three main considerations. These were, he said: "First, the fundamental importance of retaining and developing our main national asset—the land—on an economic basis throughout the Colony. Secondly, the importance of creating a situation in which farmers of all races will have confidence in the future of the agricultural industry in this country, and in which the overwhelming majority of farmers of the European and Asian communities will wish to remain in this country and to make the irreplaceable contribution which they now give to our economy. Third, the necessity of taking effective and extensive measures to relieve the social problems created by pressure on the land in certain areas."

With these factors in mind, the Government had prepared a three-year land development plan which embraced five main schemes. The first was the previously announced small farm settlement, now to be known as the Government Yeoman Settlement Scheme. The second type of settlement scheme was similar to the first in concept except that it would be organized and, in the early stages, financed from private and commercial sources and not by Government. The third prong in the land development programme would be the Land Bank. The Government intended to change the status of the bank into that of a more broadly-based organization independent of the Government. If this change was made, the Government had been advised it would be able to attract £3 million over the next few years from

¹Sessional Papers No. 10, 1958/59, and No. 6, 1959/60.

international sources to be handled by the bank to further settlement schemes.

In the fourth type of settlement the Government would continue the assisted owner and tenant schemes of the kind now handled by the European Agricultural Settlement Board for the larger farming units. The difference in the future would be that the schemes would be for all races in all areas.

Mr. McKenzie described his fifth scheme as "a new and far-reaching development of the greatest importance". Under what the Minister called the Peasant Settlement Scheme, the Government intended to obtain about 60,000 acres for the settlement of about 4,500 families each year. The Minister said this scheme was intended to help those who, possibly through no fault of their own, had not succeeded in establishing a position in life, who possibly had no land at all, or at best a small strip which was barely capable of providing even subsistence for the man and his family, and who, finally, probably possessed neither the skill nor the education nor the inclination for an urban life. The Government had several kinds of land in mind for peasant settlement of this type both within and without the Highlands.

Speaking of the enormous agricultural potential which was still virtually untapped in the African areas of Kenya, the Minister said the Government's plan was an overall one and provided for maintenance and expansion of the agricultural economy throughout the Colony and not merely in the Highlands. (*Kenya Newsletter*, August 2.)

Masai Fears

After a meeting at Kajiado, about fifty miles from Nairobi, leaders of the Masai tribe decided to make a fresh approach to Sir Patrick Renison, the Governor, about their position under the treaties with Britain of 1904 and 1919. This follows the Governor's recent speech to the tribe in which, referring to a request that the tribe should remain under British rule until ready to rule itself, he said that Britain could accept responsibility for the treaties only until Kenya became independent and British rule ended. The decision to seek further talks was advised by a European advocate from Nairobi, Mr. D. P. R. O'Beirne, who has been retained by the Masai United Front to examine the legal position of the tribe's treaties with Britain.

The meeting was addressed by Mr. Ronald Ngala, Minister of Labour and president of the Kenya African Democratic Union. Referring to the tribe's fears over the possible loss of treaty rights when British rule ends, he said that if the K.A.D.U. were to form the next Government, the Masai could form a new agreement with them. He gave an assurance that the K.A.D.U. recognized that Masailand belonged to the Masai people and that a Government formed by his party would not question their right to it. The meeting passed a resolution demanding that after independence the Kenya-Tanganyika border should be amended so that either one country or the other should include the whole of Masai territory. (*The Times*, July 25.)

Sir Patrick Renison told the Masai that Britain would help them to reach a satisfactory agreement with the new Government of Kenya before it handed over power in the colony. He told the African district council at Narok, one of the tribe's administrative headquarters, that an earlier speech of his had been misunderstood. The British would honour their treaty with the Masai so long as they held power in Kenya. He advised the tribe that the best way to ensure that they could keep their land was to make sure it was properly farmed and to enforce game and forest preservation. (*Guardian*, July 30.)

Capital Punishment

On August 18, Peter Poole, a 29-year-old electrician, was hanged for the murder of an African houseboy. It was the first time in the history of Kenya that the death sentence had been carried out on a European for the murder of an African.

Probably one of the strongest reasons why the Governor, Sir Patrick Renison, was unable to accept the petition for clemency signed by 25,000 people was the fact that seven Africans were recently hanged for the death of a European farmer, Mr. John Hutson. There were at least as strong

grounds for commuting their sentences since Mr. Hutson did not die until many months after their panga attack on him.

There is wide support for abolitionist legislation among both Asians and Africans, and Mr. Tom Mboya repeated that he was opposed on principle to capital punishment. (*Guardian*, August 19.)

Death of Ex-Senior Chief Koinange¹

In July the death was announced of Ex-Senior Chief Mbiyu Koinange of the Kikuyu. The Bishop of Mombasa and Archbishop Designate of East Africa, the Right Rev. L. J. Beecher, conducted the funeral service. Ex-Chief Koinange had returned to the reserve only a month ago after exile at the start of the Mau Mau emergency. The Bishop of Fort Hall, the Right Rev. Obadiah Kariuki, also took part in the ceremony. (*The Times*, August 1.)

Somali Republic

Composition of the Government

DR. ABDULRASHID ALI SHARMARKE has become the first Prime Minister of the new Somali Republic. Dr. Abdulrashid is 41 and has had a distinguished career as a Civil Servant. He graduated in political science at Rome University and was elected to the former Somalia Legislative Assembly last year. (*The Times*, July 17.)

Members of the new Government took their oath of office on July 22. The Government is a coalition of members of the Somali Youth League, the Somali National League and the United Somali Party, and is composed of: Prime Minister, Dr. Abdulrashid Ali Sharmarke (S.Y.L.); Deputy Prime Minister, The Hon. Abdi Hassan Bone (U.S.P.); Minister for Foreign Affairs, The Hon. Abdullahi Esa (S.Y.L.); Minister of the Interior, The Hon. Abdurazak Haji Hussein (S.Y.L.); Minister of Defence, The Hon. Mohammed Haji Ibrahim Egal (S.N.L.); Minister of Information, The Hon. Ali Mohammed Hirabe (S.Y.L.); Minister of Justice, The Hon. Mohamoud Ahmed Mohammed (S.Y.L.); Minister of Education, The Hon. Ali Gerad Jama (U.S.P.); Minister of Health and Labour, The Hon. Sheikh Ali Gimaaleh (S.Y.L.); Minister of Finance, The Hon. Abdulkadir Mohammed Adan (S.Y.L.); Minister of Communications and Works, The Hon. Abdi Nur Mohammed Hussein (S.Y.L.); Minister of Commerce and Industry, The Hon. Dr. Sheikh Abdulla Mohamoud (S.Y.L.); Minister of Agriculture, The Hon. Ahmed Haji Dualeh (S.N.L.); Minister of General Affairs, The Hon. Osman Mohamoud Ibrahim (S.Y.L.). (*Somaliland News*, July 25.)

Tanganyika

General Election Result

FIVE weeks before election day on August 30, the Tanganyika African National Union had already won a majority of the seats, for fifty-eight of its candidates for the seventy-one seats in the Legislative Council were unopposed. These included Asians and Europeans officially backed by T.A.N.U. whose victory was dependent on African votes on the common roll. As far as experts could discover this was the first time in the Commonwealth that a general election had been won before the voters had gone to the polls. Mr. Nyerere believed that such a situation in the United Kingdom would be dealt with by the Queen calling immediately on the leader of the victorious party. The Governor, although sympathetic, was understood to think that the early formation of a Government might reduce the people's regard for the electoral process; moreover, the Government departments were being reorganized on the basis of a September change-over. (*The Times*, July 25.)

In the thirteen contested seats, T.A.N.U. won twelve giving them seventy of the seventy-one seats in the Legislative Council. In the polls T.A.N.U. gained just over 100,000 votes, independents just over 20,000 while the three African National Congress candidates gained only 337

¹DIGEST VIII, 1.

between them. The new Government headed by Mr. Nyerere as Chief Minister was announced as follows: Attorney-General, Mr. John Cole; Information, Mr. Michael Davies; Finance, Sir Ernest Vasey; Lands, Surveys and Water, Mr. Abdullah Fundikira; Health and Labour, Mr. Derek Bryceson; Home Affairs, Mr. George Kahama; Communications, Power and Works, Mr. Amir Jamal; Agriculture and Co-operative Development, Mr. Paul Bomani; Commerce and Industry, Mr. Nsilo Swai; Education, Mr. Oscar Kambona; Local Government and Housing, Mr. Rashidi Kawawa.

Mr. Davies and Mr. Cole are official Ministers, Sir Ernest Vasey a nominated member, and the remainder are all elected, either as T.A.N.U. members in the case of the seven Africans, or with T.A.N.U. support. Mr. Nsilo Swai, an American economics graduate, is one of the surprises. He was strongly tipped as understudy for the Finance Minister, but apparently Mr. Nyerere thinks actual Ministerial experience of more value than a watching brief. Mr. Kawawa, the tiny dynamic president of the Federation of Labour, was also a surprise in the Local Government and Housing post. He was expected to be given the Health and Labour Ministry. Of the elected Ministers, four have held office previously in the Civil Service Government. They are Mr. Bryceson, Mr. Kahama, Mr. Jamal and Mr. Fundikira.

Mr. John Fletcher-Cooke was appointed to the new post of Deputy Governor. Mr. Fletcher-Cooke was formerly Chief Secretary in the Civil Service Government. (*Daily Telegraph*, September 3.)

On September 3, Mr. Nyerere and his Cabinet were sworn in at Government House. In a broadcast he told the country that the aim of the new Government was to achieve complete independence within the Commonwealth in the next year. He made two broadcasts—the first in Swahili and then in English.

Mr. Nyerere said his party, the Tanganyika African National Union, had received genuine co-operation from the British Government, and also from the United Nations, and also from the United Nations Trusteeship Council, which had stated that it would be for Tanganyika's elected leaders to decide they wanted independence for the territory. He added: "Our early independence is, therefore, assured."

He said the task of the present Government would be to free Tanganyika from poverty, disease, ignorance and fear. They would expand education, improve agricultural methods and communications, and encourage foreign investment. "We must learn to co-operate for our common good and learn always to keep in mind the well-being of all members of society."

Mr. Nyerere added: "There can be no true co-operation without respect for our fellow men. We must learn to forget the arrogance and prejudices, and also the irritations and humiliations of the past. The temptation to violence and lawlessness as a means to independence has been resisted. The people of Tanganyika have become fervent nationalists without becoming racialists." (*Sunday Times*, September 4.)

Views on Independence

In a speech at Nachingwea, Mr. Rashidi Kawawa, president of the Tanganyika Federation of Labour, stated that the main task ahead of Tanganyika is fixing a date for lowering the British flag. Mr. Kawawa was elected unopposed to the Legislative Council in the Nachingwea constituency, centre of the old groundnuts scheme.

"We must get rid of the Governor, the Deputy Governor, and the two remaining Ministers of the Colonial régime," he said. His aim was to stop the present organized buying which, he said, was robbing African growers of their just rewards. A step in the right direction would be an organization of Native growers through producers' co-operatives. Such a scheme would receive the support of the new Government. (*Guardian*, August 23.)

In an election-eve speech Mr. Julius Nyerere stated that he would ask Britain and the United Nations to end their trusteeship over the territory and to fix a date for independence early next year. "Our aim is to establish a free, enlightened, healthy and prosperous community of equal and co-operating citizens," he said. He did not anticipate any trouble in obtaining independence for Tanganyika, nor did he feel that another election would be necessary next year. "It is only a matter of Britain asking the United Nations for permission to fix a date. The people are ready for inde-

pendence. Our Native Government is already elected, and those to be elected tomorrow have the confidence of the people." (*Guardian*, August 30.)

Mr. Nyerere's Assurances

Addressing a convention of Associations in Moshi before the election Mr. Julius Nyerere said: "I shall not be another Lumumba, a Prime Minister without power, without the backing of the people. We have the King's African Rifles and the police, we have the discipline of a strong party organization and a united people behind us. Do not suppose for one minute that we shall not use all these things. The real future of Tanganyika lies with all its people of all races in the country. My promise to them all is the security of law and order."

"Changes are going to take place in this country," Mr. Nyerere said, "but there will be no change in Tanu's attitude towards law and order, except to enforce even more respect for law and order. We are pledged to ensure that this is going to continue to be an absolutely peaceful country."

Mr. Nyerere said the fears of South African farmers in the country had been referred to. He continued: "Now we have a serious quarrel with the policies which are being carried out in South Africa," he said, "a very serious quarrel, but not with the South Africans as people. If Dr. Verwoerd himself came to this country as a farmer I would give him the same assurance as an individual that I give to you now. Coming from South Africa is no crime."

"The South African farmer in this country may not always agree with us, but he has the same rights of citizenship as all of us. As a citizen of this country the security of his person and his property is his right, and it is for all of us of all races and colours."

"We have built up a terrific reputation in Tanganyika. Tanganyika has become an example to the whole of Africa. As a matter of expediency alone, not only as matter of morals or ethics, but as a matter of political expediency, this is wonderful for me. Our reputation is worth more than diamonds or gold or all the wealth of Tanganyika put together. Our reputation for peace and tranquillity can bring us millions in foreign investment, money that is needed in our fight against ignorance, poverty and disease. Do not believe that I or Tanu will allow ruffians to create disturbances, and spoil all this. We will not allow them to spoil it." (*Tanganyika Information Department*, August 13.)

Tanu Leader Imprisoned

Michael Nkonoki, a local leader of the Tanganyika African National Union, was sentenced to nine months' imprisonment by a court at Masasi, Southern Tanganyika, for intimidating Asian traders. Asians told the court that they were compelled to sit on the ground, surrounded by T.A.N.U. members, while Nkonoki read them a "new price list", with large cuts in the prices of goods in their shops.

Nkonoki was said to have told them that in future they would charge sixpence for a tin of maize. When they protested, the traders said, he made them stand and bow before they spoke to him, and then said: "These are T.A.N.U. laws. If you do not obey you will be sent out of the country." The magistrate told Nkonoki: "If you really believed you are empowered to make and enforce 'T.A.N.U.' law, then I will have to teach you a severe lesson." The fullest publicity was given to the case to try to discourage a fast-spreading belief that when self-government comes individual T.A.N.U. groups will have the right to act against Non-African communities. (*Guardian*, August 26.)

Economic Prospects

Clyde Sanger writing in the *Guardian* (September 1) said that Tanganyika's economic need was to double the national income within ten years. There were reasonable chances that Tanganyika would achieve this. "The value of exports is more than thirteen times what it was in 1938 and in 1959 the national income increased by 6 per cent to £177 million. Nevertheless, this country of 9 million people is still appallingly poor, with a *per capita* income of less than £20 a year."

"The hopes subsist on the fact that the economy is broad based and

does not rely too much on a single product or a small section of the population, as the Rhodesian economy relies on the copper mines and the tobacco farmers. Sisal accounted for 27 per cent of the last year's export earnings, but cotton and coffee together provided nearly as much, and they are grown almost entirely as peasant crops in Tanganyika. The diamonds which Dr. John Williamson first tracked down to the famous Mwadui Pipe were worth £4.5 million in exports last year, and a wide survey now in progress raises hope of other minerals, although the oil prospectors have temporarily moved off to Kenya. . . .

"The policy of Sir Ernest Vasey, the Finance Minister, is to select development projects which will yield quickest returns for most people. At the same time he says a proportion of money can be put aside for longer-range schemes. This means that the Kilombero sugar plantation plan announced in April has his fullest approval. The Kilombero flows into the Rufiji, whose river system covers a million acres, one fiftieth of the whole country; the starting of the sugar project suggests that the whole Rufiji scheme may be achieved in several separate phases.

"Tanganyika has learnt the harsh lesson of the groundnuts scheme, whose outlay of £32 million has as its chief memorial 120 miles of railway which stretches tantalizingly towards the coal and iron deposits near Lake Nyasa. But the dream of building a Detroit or a Pittsburgh in Southern Tanganyika is sternly dismissed by those who have calculated the vast cost of linking the area with the coast by the groundnuts railway. It is much more likely that development will spread down to these coalfields from the Kilombero area.

"Sir Ernest Vasey bluntly told the Legislative Council in April that there had been 'a disappointingly slow rate of expenditure in the current year attributable to insufficient forward planning', and forthwith a development committee was organized in the Council of Ministers. A Tanganyika Development Corporation is also being set up, but unlike its Uganda counterpart it will use its limited capital to support several projects rather than initiate a few of its own.

"There has been talk that the new Government might nationalize such undertakings as electricity supply, but Vasey showed in his Budget speech the comparative extravagance of this proposal at present. Relations between the Tanganyika Electric Supply Company Limited, and the Government will probably improve now that the £5 million Hale hydro-electric scheme to provide 2,100 kilowatts from the Pangani River is under way. At least a year of responsible government will need to have passed quietly before many investors look seriously at Tanganyika. . . .

"Many European investors seem to show special interest in Tanganyika because it is a trust territory. It is British investors who still prefer Kenya. Tanganyika can also look to the United Nations as a rich uncle who will certainly remember more than occasional birthdays.

"The antipathy towards Kenya was crystallized during the Raisman inquiry into the workings of the East African Commission and the Common Market area. Most new industry has gone to Kenya in the last twelve years and Tanganyika has accordingly lost Customs revenue without gaining tax profits. Kenya is now prepared to share tax profits from new industries, but Tanganyika's Minister of Mines and Commerce, Mr. Derek Bryceson, has told the Raisman Commission that this is not sufficient compensation, since the territory attracting the industry receives ancillary benefits beyond simple tax revenue.

"Mr. Bryceson's novel proposal is that the three territories should agree to distribute industries between them. He is not worried by the thought that some investors may be deterred at this direction to another territory, which they would not necessarily have chosen themselves; he believes that there will be no lack of investors coming to the East African market of 23 million people and that most will agree to being spread round the three territories if they realize that the alternative would be the breaking up of the Common Market area.

"The latest United Nations Visiting Mission noted approvingly that Nyerere's Party (the Tanganyika African National Union) has planned 'intensive propaganda to bring home to the people the need for a sustained effort to increase economic production'. The hundreds of co-operatives which have helped greatly in Tanganyika's development are planning to form a central union and set up their own bank shortly."

Uganda

Buganda's Future

London Talks

THE Colonial Secretary invited the Governor of Uganda, Sir Frederick Crawford, to London to discuss with him arrangements for the forthcoming Relationships Commission and related current constitutional issues. The Kabaka of Buganda then announced his intention of visiting London with a Buganda constitutional delegation to see the Colonial Secretary in an effort to prevent elections in Buganda. The Colonial Secretary refused the Kabaka's plea for an immediate interview and suggested that talks should be held when he visited Uganda about the end of September to open the new Legislative Council building. (*Guardian*, August 6.)

This decision was however reversed and on arrival in London the Kabaka said that the object of his visit was to remove the prevailing uncertainty in Uganda, and to discuss with the Colonial Secretary outstanding problems, particularly the attitude of the Kabaka's Government to the forthcoming elections in Uganda. (*The Times*, August 15.) The Kabaka was accompanied by the Buganda Constitutional Committee.

The Uganda People's Congress sent a telegram to the Colonial Secretary stating that it would oppose any agreement that he might reach with the Kabaka if it affected Uganda as a whole, and insisting that any discussions about the constitution should be attended by a fully representative Uganda delegation. The telegram also called for the immediate recall of the Governor, Sir Frederick Crawford. The telegram began by reminding Mr. Macleod of his pledge, first to hold elections throughout Uganda early next year and, secondly, to import some certainty into constitutional development. Repeated declarations were recalled that Uganda will be developed as a united country. (*The Times*, August 16.)

Prime Ministers and Secretaries-General of Governments of the kingdoms and provinces in Uganda, expressed "great concern" at the talks in London between Mr. Macleod, and the Buganda delegation headed by the Kabaka. Meeting at Mbale, Eastern Province, the African leaders called for the immediate announcement of the terms of reference of the commission which is to examine relationships between Uganda's future central government and the different parts of the country. (*The Times*, August 25.)

The talks which had started on August 15 were suspended after two weeks to allow members of the delegation to return to Uganda for further consultations.

The *Observer* (August 28) said that this turn in negotiations was ominous. "Should the talks finally fail, Uganda could face a crisis as serious as that which led to the Kabaka's exile seven years ago. The Kabaka's delegation in London appeared to be deeply divided between those who understand that the modern conditions in Uganda make it imperative for the Buganda Kingdom to associate itself with the wider national movement and those who stubbornly cling to a traditional past of isolation. It was the failure to reconcile these two viewpoints within the Buganda delegation that led to the decision to send some of their members back to Buganda for further consultations.

"The Kabaka himself was reportedly on the side of those who have sensed that the 'wind of change' in Africa blows equally strongly for traditionalists as for White rulers. But as a constitutional monarch he is reported to have refused to impose his views on his divided delegation. The London negotiations have reached the point where the Buganda delegation could only reject the assurances given by Mr. Macleod at some risk of being accused of going back on their word."

Colonial Secretary's Visit

When the Secretary of State for the Colonies declared open the new parliamentary building in Kampala he said that some decried the effort to encourage forms of democratic government in Africa. Perhaps the best answer was that our own methods were, after all, all that we had to offer. He added: "I believe that you would not thank us if we were to try to fob you off with some alternative system of government. Indeed, my experience is that it is not Britain which forces parliamentary democracy on

Africa but the peoples of the African territories who will be satisfied with nothing else."

He described the part which the British Parliament had played in fostering national unity. On the question of registration, Mr. Macleod said that he was saddened to know that many had held back either out of fear or because they felt doubts about the rightness of registering. He trusted that such persons would realize they were doing a disservice to their people if they abandoned their right to exercise a say in the government. Mr. Macleod gave warning that the law would be enforced against anyone who used threats.

Kabaka's Return

The Kabaka of Buganda left London without having persuaded the Government to alter the programme for Uganda's general election next February. Mr. E. W. Kigundu, the secretary of the Kabaka's delegation, said: "The doors have not been closed and we are satisfied with the talks as far as they have gone. But we hope and believe that the talks will be reopened soon."

The Times (September 20) said the delegation's final discussion with Lord Perth, Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, proved inconclusive. Whether Buganda will take part in the election remains an open question. The British Government have already announced that this will take place next year on a common roll and the registration of electors began last week.

The Central African Examiner (September 10) commented: "In Uganda the basic dilemma remains. Should the Government go ahead with elections in Buganda? Without backing or at least tacit support from the Kabaka's Government it is certain that only a minority of the Baganda will register and vote. The political parties cannot rouse sufficient support in this part of the country to force the issue and they are afraid of a direct showdown with the Buganda Government. Already in some of the villages party membership cards are being burnt publicly and the extreme traditionalists are calling for the outlawing of all political parties and unswerving loyalty to the Kabaka. This is a powerful force in Buganda and it cannot simply be written off as the machinations of a reactionary clique.

"Again, if elections are to take place in Buganda—as in the long run they must—who should be responsible for forcing the issue? The British administration, with the almost certain consequence of violence and intimidation, or a predominantly elected African Government drawn from the rest of the country? If Buganda were a remote province the matter would be fairly simple, but it is the economic and political centre of the whole country. For Buganda, with its traditional hierarchy stretching deep down into the whole structure of society, plus the fact of its own legislature (which has some democratic elements) and administration, to absorb itself into a wholly democratic Uganda requires nothing less in the last analysis than a major political and constitutional revolution . . . and people have to have their own revolutions."

Registration of Voters

After about half the total period of registration had elapsed it was reported that 632,000 applications to register had been received. This means that the number of people registered has already passed that for the 1958 Legislative Council elections. In the first week of registration in the twenty-one constituencies of Buganda and the three constituencies of Kampala a total of 1,300 registered. Commenting on this, the Resident Buganda, Mr. R. E. Stone, said he considered that a fairly good beginning had been made, in view of the recent uncertainties which had surrounded registration of electors in Buganda.¹ Asked whether the slow progress in the London talks on "outstanding problems affecting Buganda" was having an effect on registration, Mr. Stone said that some chiefs had been advising their people not to register for the present. He was certain that this had had an effect on registration in some constituencies. But the fact that over 1,300 people in Buganda had registered seemed to indicate that there was a fairly substantial number of people who wished to make their own decision as to whether or not they wanted to be represented in the next Legislative Council. (*Uganda News*, August 29.)

¹DIGEST VIII, 1.

It has been estimated that in Buganda there should be at least 500,000 and probably many more qualified to vote. It appeared that in country districts a lead was awaited from the Kabaka's Government and meanwhile chiefs and traditionalists were actively discouraging persons from registering. Political parties were doing their best to persuade their supporters to register, and in the Masaka District, where the Democratic Party had some following, about 500 registrations had been recorded. (*Guardian*, August 29.)

Minister Resigns

Mr. A. K. Kironde, Minister of Works in the Protectorate Government, has resigned his office. In a letter to the Governor, Mr. Kironde stated that he wished to resign so that he could devote more time to his work as leader of the newly formed United National Party.¹ Mr. Kironde, a Muganda, was first appointed a member of the Government when he became Assistant Minister of Social Services in September 1955. He became Minister of Works in 1958. The Governor has accepted the resignation with regret. (*Uganda News*, August 2.)

Government Agrees to P.A.F.M.E.C.A. Conference²

The Protectorate Government has agreed that the annual conference of the Pan African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa—P.A.F.M.E.C.A.—may be held in Mbale, in Eastern Uganda. The Chief Secretary's office in a letter to one of the Uganda organizers of the conference, Mr. John Kakonge, has said that the local District Commissioner will be glad to give any assistance within his power in such matters as the provision of office accommodation and the reservation of a conference room. (*Uganda News*, September 9.)

Zanzibar

Racial Animosity and Communism

THE British Resident in Zanzibar, Sir George Mooring, warned the people of the island that unless racial animosity did not abate all political meetings would be banned and speech and movement restricted. He said that the present situation threatened the peace, harmony, and good relations between the Sultan's subjects. "It is very easy to stir up racial enmity. It is much more difficult to stop it once it is aroused. If continued, it will lead to fighting and loss of life," he added. Sir George Mooring praised the action of the leaders of the island's three political parties in calling for racial harmony, and said he hoped that everyone would follow their example.

In the Legislative Council the Chief Secretary, Mr. P. A. P. Robertson, gave warnings of the growth of Communism on the island. He added that there were obvious signs that the people had allowed themselves to be attracted by the "lies and deceit" of international Communism. Scholarship and other gifts may be all very nice, he said, but people should not be misled into thinking that this was aid without strings as the Communists pretended. The lies and tricks of the Communists had to be seen through if the Sultan of Zanzibar and his dynasty were to be safeguarded—"We must make sure that their hateful creed never gains a foothold in this island. The people must unite to prevent this threat to the dynasty and to their own liberties from developing." (*The Times*, July 27.)

SOUTHERN AFRICA High Commission Territories

Economic Development

THE Report of an Economic Survey Mission appointed by the High

¹DIGEST VIII, 1.

²DIGEST VII, 2.

Commissioner in consultation with Mr. Eugene Black of the World Bank, was published on July 26.¹

The Report recommends additional capital expenditure in aid of £2,736,000 in Basutoland, £1,514,000 in Bechuanaland, and £2,667,000 in Swaziland. It believes that this expenditure would in a decade or so make economic viability a "near certainty in the case of Swaziland, a reasonable probability in the case of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, and a possibility in the case of Basutoland".

In Basutoland, the Mission emphasizes, the necessity is for a concerted and intensified campaign in the field of soil use and conservation; for the controlled development of the Co-operative Movement; and for better educational facilities.

In Bechuanaland Protectorate, the major opportunity lies in increased output of the livestock industry, and the problem consequently is to conserve and make the best use of all available grazing and water. The Mission suggest also an investigation of the imaginative scheme to use the waters of the Okavango swamps for the benefit of the dry area to the south-east.

In Swaziland, soil conservation and the improvement of agriculture are recommended for assistance. Also, however, there are great natural opportunities for development, e.g. in mining, forestry and irrigation farming (including sugar cane) and the main task of the Government, in the Mission's view, is to provide transport and telecommunication facilities and a supply of potentially skilled workmen and operatives to encourage further development.

In all three territories, the Mission noted the need for vocational and technical training; more agricultural research; for improved facilities for the marketing and transport of livestock and agricultural produce; for better roads; and for aerial and hydrological surveys.

Reassurance on Incorporation

Major Patrick Wall, M.P., chairman of the Conservative Parliamentary Committee on East and Central Africa, during a visit to Basutoland, said the High Commission Territories need not fear incorporation into the Union. "Britain will not remove her protection without their consent, come what may." Since Churchill, Government has always made this point clear. If and when change of government in the Union brings rights to Africans, satisfactory to the people of the High Commission Territories and when they ask for it, then some association can be worked out. (*Roma College Newsletter*, June 30.)

Refugees

Questions affecting refugees from South Africa and South West Africa in the High Commission Territories were raised on several occasions in Parliament. The Rt. Hon. H. Marquand (Labour) questioned the High Commissioner's insistence that residence permits could only be granted on the condition that the holder would not engage in politics. He pointed out that this imposed conditions which had never been imposed in all British history, and which ran quite contrary to all our best traditions of freedom of speech, political asylum and the rule of law.

The Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, Mr. C. A. J. Alport, replied: "It is most important that the interests of the inhabitants of the Protectorates should be considered first, and in so far as these Protectorates are closely concerned in the problems of their neighbouring territories, I do not think that the proviso that the High Commissioner has made is in any way inappropriate to the particular circumstances in which they find themselves."

Mr. Marquand also raised the question of the Rev. Markus Kooper, of Rehoboth, South West Africa, who had been invited by the United Nations Committee on South West Africa to address them in New York early in July, but who was stranded in Bechuanaland without travel documents. After petitioning the United Nations, Mr. Kooper had been arrested by the South African authorities, and banished. He later sought refuge in Bechuanaland. Mr. Marquand said he was sure the whole House would agree with the chairman of the Committee that this was an intolerable position, and he expressed shock that the British Government had said they were unable to help in providing travel documents because Mr.

Kooper was not a British citizen or Protected person. He asked: "Surely Her Majesty's Government can find a way to enable this refugee now within their control to go to the United Nations, and so fulfil their obligations under the European Convention on Human Rights?"

Mr. Peter Emery (Conservative) added: "It seems absolutely crazy that refugees in British Bechuanaland, some of them causing a problem of unemployment, should be able to get out of Bechuanaland only if they obtain an Indian *laissez-passer*, or are smuggled aboard a plane to fly to Ghana."

The Under Secretary of State, Mr. R. Thompson, replied that Mr. Kooper was perfectly free to leave Bechuanaland at any time. "He is definitely not one of our people for passport purposes. . . ." (*Hansard*, July 29.)

Mr. Kooper eventually arrived in London at the beginning of September en route for New York. The *Guardian* (August 3) urged that the High Commissioner for Refugees should be entitled to give suitable travel documents to such refugees.

Bechuanaland Legislative and Executive Councils

Mr. C. A. J. Alport, Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, announced that the Secretary of State had approved proposals for a Legislative Council with an elected unofficial majority with equal numbers of European and African unofficials, and one elected Asian member. He added that there would be an Executive Council with an official majority and also with equal numbers of European and African unofficials. These councils, he said, should come into operation in 1961.

In reply to Mr. Peter Emery (Conservative) he said that many government offices had been and would be transferred within the borders of the territory from the present administrative centre which was situated outside. The Government was well aware of the significance of this point.

Swazi Views on Political Development

An article in *Our Africa* (July 1960) described new demands among the Swazi people for political advance. In an interview the president of the Swazi Progressive Association, Mr. Nguku, said: "Self-government is our legitimate claim. The independence of Swaziland has been our ultimate goal all these years. No outsiders have influenced our claim for self-government."

The Swazi National Council has no law-making powers. It is merely advisory. The European settlers also have their advisory council. It is said that some Europeans have been trying to persuade Swazi people to join the European Advisory Council. The Swazis refused, saying their own National Council had more influence with the British Government, so they proposed a legislative council instead.

Some Swazi politicians are uneasy about King Sobuza's reported statement, to the effect that the Legislative Council will be nominated according to established tribal custom. He is reported to have said that the Swazi people would be given no right to vote. A young Swazi politician said, "Members of the Legislative Council must be the very best brains of our country. These men must be elected, not nominated." Many Swazi politicians however are optimistic that they will be able to persuade King Sobuza to introduce the franchise in the country and have members of the Legislative Council elected. European settlers are reported to be in favour of this move by the Swazi people, and to believe that a satisfactory racial policy should have been declared long ago.

South Africa, Union of United Front

THE South Africa United Front, consisting of the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress, the South African Indian Congress and the South West National Union, has established offices in Accra, Cairo, London and New York. Their immediate plans are: to secure the United Nations support for economic sanctions and for transference of the mandate of South West Africa from South Africa to the United Nations as a first step towards the granting of independence to the territory; to secure the stoppage of all oil and oil products to South Africa; to persuade

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independent African states to refuse shipping, air landing facilities and air space to South African aeroplanes and to appeal to the people of all countries to increase and intensify the boycott of South African products.

At a press conference in London, representatives of the Congresses pointed out that the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, two of the major political organizations of the South African people, remain proscribed. The Government is extending the much-hated pass-system to African women as from December 1 this year. The mass demonstrations by the African people in the Reserves against Bantu Authority, as in Pondoland, are being put down by fierce and brutal police action. The vicious implementation of the Group Areas Act threatens the very existence of the Indians in South Africa. The Pass Laws and attendant police raids inflict an intolerable burden on urban Africans.

In referring to Dr. Verwoerd's determination to set up a republic they said: "It is important to recall the fact that Dr. Verwoerd and his colleagues had during World War II pinned their hopes on a Nazi victory. The Nationalist Party had in 1941 drawn up a draft constitution for a republic which incorporated the salient features of a fascist dictatorship."

Following on visits to a number of African states and conferences, the representatives reported: "The feeling against White supremacy is running very high throughout the whole continent. The practice of apartheid is seen as an insult to African respect and dignity. No effort will be spared by the independent African States, the African trade union movements and the national liberatory organizations to use every form of diplomatic, economic and cultural pressures to break the arrogance and intransigence of the Verwoerd Government. India has had no diplomatic or trade relations with South Africa since 1946 when these were broken off. It is expected that the determined stand of Malaya, Philippines and West Indian states will soon be followed by similar action by more Asian, Caribbean and Latin American States." They added: "The people of Britain, the Scandinavian and other countries in Europe can well feel satisfied with their humanitarian and voluntary boycott of South African products. This has helped the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa against racial discrimination and for democracy."

Passes for Women

From December 1 it will be an offence for any African woman over the age of 16 not to carry a reference book. Spokesmen for the Department of Bantu Administration have said that 3,264,326 books have already been issued to African women (which, on the basis of available population figures, meant all African women over 16), and that the reference book, far from having a disrupting influence on the home, would mean that no woman could abscond from her family in the hope of not being traced. Also in case of accidents they could be identified. An assurance was given that there would be no summary arrests or summary demands for the reference books.

The newly appointed Commissioner of Police, General H. J. Duplooy, has reported that police have stopped their routine searches of townships for offenders against the pass and liquor laws. Anyone unable to produce his reference book on demand would have an opportunity to prove that he possessed one or to establish his credentials otherwise. Africans generally welcome these relaxations but say that some policemen are apparently unaware of the new policy and continue to administer the law with the old rigour. (*Guardian*, August 13.)

Brief Authority, by Charles Hooper, which describes events in the Bafurutshe Reserve near Zeerust, when Africans protested against the extension of the pass laws to women, was banned in South Africa before publication. (*S.A. Sunday Times*, August 14.)

The former Chief Justice, the Hon. H. A. Fagan, said in Cape Town that the development of the reserves and influx control to prevent workless Natives from "dribbling over" in European areas were commendable. "We should not, however, allow our enthusiasm for this to divert our attention from the urgent call for a sound policy for the settled Bantu inhabitants of the European areas—in which, although we call them European areas, the most recent census, that of 1951, showed the population to be 28 per cent European, 56 per cent Bantu, 12 per cent Coloured and 4 per cent Asiatic."

Boycotts and Sanctions

Ghana's complete boycott of South African goods, ships and airlines, including the prohibition of South Africans unless they declared their opposition to apartheid, aroused considerable dismay in the Union. Ghana's imports from South Africa are estimated at about £3 million.

The *Guardian* (August 1) reported: "Canners of fruit and fish will be worst hit. . . . The fish canning industry alone, which today exports about 16 per cent of its output to Ghana, will lose £1 million worth of trade. Mr. E. Louw, Minister of External Affairs, described Ghana's action as a sign of political immaturity and violation of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. . . . The president of the Federated Chamber of Industries, Mr. L. Lulofs, said that Ghana's move was an 'unwarranted action that will retard the progress of those whose advance we are anxious to see'. Businessmen and officials do not conceal their fear that the boycott may spread to other Afro-Asian countries."

The *Times* (August 1) said: "According to one report Colonel R. Jones, director of the South African Exporters' Association, described Ghana's move as the 'most serious blow the country has suffered as a result of boycotts'. South Africa's exports to Ghana were far more varied than to other countries boycotting the Union, while much capital had also been invested by South Africans to build up trade."

The *Rand Daily Mail* described Ghana's declaration as "a major act of economic warfare without parallel in modern times", and said: "We may fulminate to our heart's content but it will not alter the course of history. If we insist on following policies that are rejected by the world we must suffer the consequences."

In considering the legal implications of Ghana's action, the *S.A. Star* (August 2) explained that under the G.A.T.T. agreement "there is a clause under which a state is not prevented from taking action in pursuance of its obligations under the United Nations charter for the maintenance of international peace and security. Under this provision Ghana would claim that she was acting within her legal rights. . . . The Ghanaian argument would be more likely to be valid if the claim were made in respect of South Africa's obligations to the United Nations under the mandate of South West Africa."

Sudan's boycott was announced and Malaya's boycott began on August 1. President Ayub of Pakistan said he did not believe that sanctions would solve the problem and said he favoured raising the apartheid question in international forums. Australia has no organized boycott of South African products, though there was obviously "some buyer resistance" according to Mr. B. H. M. Maxwell, Assistant Australian Government Trade Commissioner.

Pandit Nehru said the Indian Government had recently been in touch with other countries recalling India's own action about twelve years ago in severing trade and diplomatic relations with South Africa. He said that India hopes that other countries will follow the example of Ghana and Malaya. (*Ghana Daily Graphic*, August 12.)

The Tanganyika African National Union, the ruling Party there, announced that South African goods would be boycotted from September 1. Mr. Louw asked Sir John Maud, United Kingdom High Commissioner in South Africa, to request the British Government, as the mandatory Power for Tanganyika, to remind Mr. Nyerere of the obligations undertaken both in terms of the mandate and the subsequent trusteeship agreement with the United Nations.

Mr. Louw stated that South Africa looked to the mandatory Power to carry out its obligations. He said he recently discussed the matter with the High Commissioner and pointed out that Tanganyika was held under mandate by the British Government and Article 7 provided that the "mandatory Power shall ensure to all nationals of member states of the League of Nations, on the same footing as to its own nationals, freedom of transit and navigation and complete economic and commercial and industrial equality". (*The Times*, September 2.)

The official Scandinavian boycott was ended on September 1. A spokesman for the Norwegian Federation of Labour said: "This was only a demonstration against the racial policies of South Africa and we know it has been successful. In May there was a drop in imports from South Africa of about £95,000." A spokesman of the Danish Trade Union Congress said:

"We believe it achieved its objects. It is up to individuals now to take what action they think proper with regard to boycotting South African produce." (*S.A. Star*, August 20.)

The Trawler and Line Fishermen's Union (representing 640 Coloured and White workers) asked the International Confederation of Free Trades Unions in Brussels to exempt fish from its consumer boycott on South African goods. The request was turned down.

An example of the effects of the boycott was a Cape Town candle factory which had lost 85 per cent of its export trade. A representative of the firm said: "Although the boycott in Nigeria is not official throughout the country our agents there have stopped taking supplies from us. Nigeria and Ghana together used to make up 50 per cent of our export market. We have also lost our trade in the British West Indies (25 per cent) and in Malaya (10 per cent). Another 10 per cent of our exports go to British East Africa, but the market there for South African goods is also shaky." The *S.A. Star* (August 1) commented that "The mounting wave of boycotts is now conservatively estimated to have caused a direct loss of more than £7 million in South Africa's exports."

Economic Effects of Apartheid

During August, the South African correspondents of several British newspapers reported on the economic effects of the South African Government's policy.

The *Guardian* (August 11) wrote: Overseas loss of confidence in South Africa as a field for investment is the main factor in the South African Reserve Bank's decision to raise the bank rate from 4 to 4½ per cent. Announcing this step, which reverses the bank's cheaper money policy launched eighteen months ago, Dr. M. H. de Kock, the governor, admitted as much in the annual review to shareholders. He linked the drop of £39 millions in the Union's exchange reserve and the net capital outflow of £78 millions in the first half of this year primarily with the recent racial disturbances leading to the state of emergency.

The Dusseldorf financial newspaper, *Der Handelsblatt* (August 18), referred to Dr. de Kock's statement that the situation results from unrest in some places and commented: "This is a mild description of the fateful effects of the apartheid policies of the Verwoerd Government which have led to a crisis in international confidence. The flight of capital, Dr. de Kock admits, has resulted in an alarming deterioration in the balance of payments and threatens to endanger South Africa's entire economy." *Handelsblatt* said that the decline in the gold and foreign currency reserves would have been even larger if there had not been an influx of American credits.

Stanley Uys (*O.F.N.S.*, August 22) reported a country-wide decline in building and construction activity. Some projects had been cancelled; one of the largest building and civil engineering firms in South Africa, John Laing, is curtailing its activities and transferring its key men to Rhodesia and England; and among many emigrants are one of Cape Town's best-known neuro-surgeons, several well-established attorneys and barristers, engineers, doctors, journalists, etc., who see the conflict between African nationalism and Afrikaner nationalism as a case of the irresistible force meeting an immovable object.

With regard to emigration *The Times* (August 20) reported: "So many South Africans are trying to leave the country since the Sharpeville incident and other racial disturbances that all accommodation in passenger liners to Australia is fully booked up to the end of 1961, and in aircraft until the end of November. Emigrants this year outnumber immigrants for the first time on record."

Industrialists' Views

The executive council of the Federated Chamber of Industries at a meeting in Port Elizabeth reaffirmed their right to speak out on "any and every aspect" of Government policy which has a bearing on the nation's economy. They condemned the Prime Minister's Bantustan border industries plan as "impracticable". And they bluntly announced to the Government that threats and the use of force, while unavoidable during periods of violence, could never replace a policy aimed at eliminating frustration and irritation among South Africa's Non-Whites.

Mr. S. G. Menell, chairman of Anglo-Transvaal Consolidated, told Middle Wits shareholders at the annual meeting in Johannesburg that the

30 per cent drop in the value of the company's investments this year was "the measure of the overseas investors' loss of confidence in South Africa". He said it was imperative that South Africa took heed of world opinion and found some basis of compromise with it. (*South Africa*, July 23.)

Mr. J. H. Moolman, chairman of the South African Wool Board, has said the Government must follow an internal policy of consultation on economic policy. He denied that he had referred to apartheid. He said he had warned the Government—"as many men have subsequently done"—that for the country's economy to exist "we shall have to pursue an internal policy of consultation and maybe some form of representation for all sections of the nation and for all colours, or else we shall have to cope with the continued and more severe criticism and acts of reprisal from nations from all over the world—and more particularly from our partners inside White Western civilization". (*S.A. Star*, July 27.)

The sales director of Dunlop (S.A.) Ltd. said that recent events in South Africa had adversely affected hopes for expansion in domestic business for the rest of 1960 and the sudden boycott by Malaya and Singapore had seriously influenced export markets. He was commenting on his company's decision to dismiss 200 White and African employees—the biggest lay-off since the firm established a factory at Durban. (*Rand Daily Mail*, July 16.)

Mr. J. L. Irvin, chairman of the National Chemical Products group, whose exports reached £500,000 last year, couples his remarks in his annual review with a warning that if South Africa loses its Commonwealth membership "inestimable" trading benefits which they now enjoy will be lost. (*S.A. Star*, July 28.)

The director of the Cape Chamber of Industries, Mr. R. M. Lee, addressed a meeting of about 150 senior industrialists and businessmen. Among resolutions adopted was the following: Industry should continue its efforts, together with other sections of South African business in spite of discouragements—to induce the Government to introduce policy modifications in racial affairs which would assist in regaining South Africa's prestige abroad and obtaining greater recognition of the value of the Union's role in trade and in other respects on the African continent as an industrialized democratic Western nation.

Mr. C. W. Engelhard, chairman of the American-South African Investment Company, in a report said: "It is quite clear that the Government must recognize the need to develop a world-accepted policy of co-existence among the races living within South Africa if it wishes to restore the full confidence of the foreign investor." (*S.A. Star*, July 29.)

Government and Nationalist Views

The South African Government news sheet, *Progress* (August 1960), reported that the heavy fall (£7.3 million) in the country's gold and foreign reserves in the last week of June was due to: "End of half-year payments outwards from South Africa; payment of dividends overseas by mining houses and industrial companies; capital repayments on uranium loans, and movement of short-term capital out of the Union, encouraged by the higher United Kingdom bank rate." The fall of goldmining shares to their lowest level of the year was said to be: "Under the weight of local 'distress' selling in order to meet margin calls and of selling by local investors unnerved by the continuous drift in price levels."

Dr. Albert Hertzog, Minister of Health, said that "powerful foreign money power", which had been built up from the gold, diamonds and base metals in South Africa—by men who stood with one foot in Johannesburg and the other in London—had tried for seventy-five years to break the White man in Southern Africa. Part of their campaign had been to buy up English-speaking newspapers, so that today they controlled almost all of them in the Union, he went on. Day after day these newspapers poured out venom against the Afrikaans section. They had been so successful that an intense hatred existed among many English-speaking South Africans towards the Afrikaners. The "mining press" was also largely responsible for the riots at Sharpeville, Langa, and Nyanga because of their lies and misrepresentations. (*S.A. Star*, July 11.)

Professor A. I. Malan, chairman of the *Volkskas*, and a Nationalist M.P., told the bank's annual meeting that South Africa is on the threshold of a bright economic future. The past year had been notable for a high degree of price stability.

The Minister of Economic Affairs, Dr. Diederichs, told an Afrikaans daily newspaper that people overseas were inclined to regard Africa and South Africa as practically synonymous, with the result that anything that happened in the rest of Africa was immediately made applicable to the Union. Unfortunately developments north of our borders immediately reflect unfavourably on us. If there are disturbances elsewhere in Africa, the Union experiences the bad effects. (*Pretoria News*, July 12.)

State of Emergency Ended

The state of emergency was ended on August 31, after five months. Political detainees had been progressively released under conditions restricting their freedom of movement, association and speech. Mrs. Helen Joseph was the last of the White women to be freed.

With the lifting of the emergency Father Mark Nye, who had been in prison for nearly two months said that after three weeks he and three other White detainees were allowed to share a cell, and later, when they were regarded as monitors, they were moved into less austere quarters and conditions generally were relaxed. Judging from what he saw and heard, African prisoners were treated worse than he had imagined. He saw them being cuffed and kicked for no apparent reason. (*The Times*, September 1.)

Former detainees said they were still unaware why they had been imprisoned. None had been called upon to answer any charge.

The *Guardian* (September 1) reported: "With the exception of about 100 Whites detained in a series of dawn swoops, the emergency has had scarcely any impact on the White population, who have carried on their social, economic and political activities much as before. It is the Non-White community which has felt the emergency regulations most. Most African leaders were detained. The only two African political organizations of any consequence—the African National Congress of Chief Albert Luthuli and the more extreme Pan-African Congress—have been outlawed and show no signs of activity underground or otherwise. There has been an almost complete ban on African political meetings. Nearly 23,000 Non-Whites were arrested of whom 21,000 were described as vagrants under the pass law and influx control regulations. Of these about 5,000 were still in gaol and would be released as a result of the lifting of the emergency."

Meanwhile a number of refugees of all races have gone to Britain and to Ghana despite the difficulties many had in passing through the Central African Federation. The *S.A. Sunday Times* (July 10) reported that a warning by the Federal Government to Indian consular officials in Salisbury prevented 26-year-old South African refugee, Mr. Alexander Grove Shaw, of Maritzburg, from being issued with an emergency travel document, to enable him to proceed to Britain.

Professor Z. K. Matthews, described by *The Times* (August 13) as probably with Albert Luthuli, South Africa's most important political detainee, was released from gaol yesterday after having spent nearly four and a half months in various prisons under the emergency regulations. He returned to his home in Alice, Cape Province, where he will resume his legal practice. His son, Joe Matthews, a refugee in Basutoland, has been admitted to the side Bar there. He is the first attorney to practise fully in Basutoland.

The former treasurer-general of the banned African National Congress, Dr. A. E. Letele, who was detained on March 30, has been released. He has returned to Kimberley with a repatriation order from the Minister of Justice in terms of which he must leave the Union within thirty days. He was born in Basutoland and is a British subject. He entered the Union thirty-six years ago.

At the Central Indian High School in Johannesburg 200 pupils staged a mass walk-out because the governing committee of parents had refused to reinstate their Indian principal, Mr. Mervyn Thundray, on his release. (*The Times*, August 23.)

Two ex-detainees, John Brink and Ernie Wentzel, members of the Liberal Party, addressed a crowd of about 150 who gathered on an open, privately-owned plot. The Pretoria City Council had refused permission for a public meeting. Mr. Wentzel said apartheid was the chain round South Africa's neck which prevented human beings from developing to the full. Referring to the banned organizations of the A.N.C. and P.A.C., Mr. Brink said: "They have been the main instruments through which the voice of the African was heard, calling for freedom to live with-

out fear, and for allowing human beings to develop to the full by sharing in the government of their country. It is not possible to silence that persistent voice. The authorities try to gag it by banning, but another will rise to take its place. The Liberal Party, calling for basic human rights and freedom, will continue the struggle." (*Pretoria News*, September 1960.)

Prison Conditions and Labour Camps

In the Johannesburg City Council, Mrs. Kathleen Mitchell (Progressive) adjourned the Council on June 28 on a matter of urgent public importance to discuss "the disturbing press reports about secret courts in jails and the campaign to send tsotsi elements to rural 'rehabilitation camps'." Mrs. Mitchell said "all sorts of things", were going on in Johannesburg's Black townships. Yet no report had been made to the Non-European Affairs Committee, or to the manager of the Non-European Affairs Department.

The Africans who were being sent away were citizens of Johannesburg. Instead of sending them away to rehabilitation camps in Groblersdal and Lichtenburg—which provided farmers with cheap labour—these tsotsis should be catered for in institutions like the vocational school run in Johannesburg by the Council. The "positive" way to solve the problem of tsotsism was to build many more secondary schools for Africans and more technical colleges and vocational training schools like that run by the council. Thus young people would be given constructive work to do, instead of farm labour.

Mrs. Mitchell said that in terms of the Native Urban Areas Act young Africans who were being sent away from Johannesburg might never be allowed to return.

The *Rand Daily Mail* (June 30) reported that a growing number of Johannesburg city councillors were disturbed about the methods used to tackle tsotsism.

The *Guardian* (August 9) pointed out that the lifting of the emergency focused attention on the plight of thousands of Africans, many of them youths who have been arrested under the emergency regulations and kept in custody without any trial for several months. They are officially classed as "idlers" which could signify that they had no reference books or identity passes in their possession at the time of arrest or had no visible means of livelihood or were suspected of criminal habits. Their exact numbers are unknown but are estimated at over 8,000. Relatives and friends have great difficulty in ascertaining their whereabouts and no way of getting in touch with them in any event. Courts under magistrates are reportedly held in the prisons but the proceedings are private, and no legal representation is permitted, nor are sentences disclosed where the accused are not released.

The *Rand Daily Mail* (August 9) alleged that secret courts were held in Modder B Prison, near Benono (the prison where eighteen African prisoners died of pneumonia during two weeks in July). The Department of Prisons denied that very large numbers of prisoners had been held there. The number never exceeded 6,266 and now it was 2,504 of whom 1,468 were held for offences "quite unconnected with the emergency". The allegation that detainees were sent away in squads to forced labour on Transvaal farms was also wholly repudiated. There was a parole system enabling short-term prisoners to undertake voluntary outside labour. (*The Times*, August 12.)

The presiding judge at the Treason Trial inspected a midday meal of cold dried beans provided by the prison while the defendants were imprisoned during the emergency. He asked the Crown to ensure that food delivered to the court for the twenty-nine should be improved. (*Guardian*, July 19.)

African Labour

The South African T.U.C. has suggested that African workers should be paid a minimum monthly wage of £30. An employers' plan in Johannesburg suggested a £15 wage. The *Rand Daily Mail* (June 21) pointed out that as long ago as 1954 authorities had agreed that the amount an African family needed to live at poverty datum level was between £24 and £25. The minimum needed to maintain minimum health standards was £30.

The *Rand Daily Mail* (July 21) described as "a bold, imaginative step", that by South African standards might seem revolutionary, the recom-

mentations by the South African Agricultural Union to make farm labour more attractive for African workers. These suggested that farm labourers should receive at least ten days' leave yearly on full pay. In addition they should receive an afternoon a week, every Sunday and every public holiday off, as well as "casual" leave. Farmers should also organize their labour in such a way that workers have free hours during the week to attend to their own affairs, and for relaxation.

Dr. F. Meyer, chairman of Iscor and president of the National Development Foundation, said that unless White immigration was increased more Bantu would be needed in industry to "sustain our desired economic growth". The fallacy of cheap Bantu labour had been like a narcotic for many years. "It is not cheap labour," he added. "It is low-paid, but very expensive, labour. The Bantu employee must be looked upon as a specified worker and not merely as one out of an amorphous mass of bodies." (*S.A. Star*, July 19.)

Pondoland Troubles

The disturbances in Pondoland, in the South African Government's showplace Bantustan, the Transkei, have continued. Among the tribesmen who gave evidence before the Government Commission was one elderly leader who said: "This unrest has come to stay as long as the Bantu people have no representative in Parliament to voice their grievances. Until the Government revises the way it administers its laws regarding the Bantu people I am quite sure there will be no happiness and unrest will continue." (*The Times*, July 27.)

Another spokesman demanded the ending of the Bantu Authorities system and the removal of Chief Botha Sigcan and his supporters.

The chairman of the Commission, Mr. J. A. C. van Heerden, said that after hearing lengthy evidence from Pondo spokesmen it was apparent that they wrongly attributed all their grievances—and particularly those concerning increased taxation—to the Bantu Authorities system. He hoped that the findings of the Commission would soon be made public, not only to South Africans but to the world. (*S.A. Star*, July 28.) More huts were burnt near Bizana and on September 4 there was a report that a White trader's store had been attacked and destroyed for the first time. The storekeeper said that in the seven years he had kept the store he had never previously had any trouble with Pondos. (*The Times*, September 4.) The death of another African was reported on September 5.

The *News Chronicle* (September 5) reported that "the bodies of tribesmen shot down by police in Pondoland on June 6 will be exhumed from the graves where relatives buried them so families can take civil action against the Government. Though official figures named six dead at the time, the magistrate at Lusikisiki granted an order for eleven bodies to be exhumed."

Treason Trial

Mrs. Helen Joseph, the only White woman on trial, was the first among the accused to give evidence for the defence. In the course of her evidence Mrs. Joseph said: "The Federation of South African Women did not intend to 'engage upon illegal activities' when it opposed the extension of reference books to Native women."

Under re-examination, Mrs. Joseph said she agreed with the view that White racialism would give rise to Black racialism and unless bridges were built, a tragic situation could arise. The policy of the A.N.C. had always been to try to break down barriers between the different racial groups in South Africa.

Replying to Mr. Justice Bekker, Mrs. Joseph said the Congress of Democrats regarded industrial action as the strongest form of pressure that could be exerted on the electorate. There could be no compromise on the principle of universal franchise, but negotiation could be accepted without compromising that principle.

Another witness, I. A. Cachalia, formerly a member of the executive of the South African Indian Congress and of the joint Passive Resistance Council established in 1946, described the 1952 Defiance Campaign when about 8,000 people were directly involved in the campaign, which aroused widespread sympathy and support not only amongst the Europeans in South Africa, but in many countries overseas. He agreed that the S.A.I.C. had expressed solidarity with those who were engaged in violent liberatory

struggles against colonial authorities. It had not condemned the violence committed by the "oppressed" people in different countries, because it wanted to see colonialism "wiped out". (*Pretoria News*, June 9, 22, 23, 27.)

On July 18 defence counsel returned to the trial because the conditions created by the emergency regulations which had necessitated their withdrawal had changed, and 1,200 detainees were due to be released.

Giving evidence about the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela, a solicitor, said: "We have consistently preached against racialism, and we can take credit for the fact that there is a movement in this country for racial peace." Questioned by the presiding judge, Mr. Justice Rumpff, about repeated references in his speeches to Europeans being "driven out" of various countries, Mandela said it was possible that listeners might believe he was in favour of driving the Europeans out of South Africa. But what an audience might think had to be considered in the light of A.N.C. policy. (*S.A. Star*, August 4.)

An application by the defence for recusal of Mr. Justice Rumpff, the presiding judge, was refused by Judge Rumpff as being without any ground. The application was based on four grounds: the frequency and extent of interventions by the judge; the fact that the judge's questioning appeared to constitute cross-examination of witnesses by way of assistance to the prosecution; the judge appeared at times to be entering into political debate with witnesses; certain of his questions gave the impression of hostile comment on the evidence.

When the accused were released from detention at the end of the emergency on September 1, the Crown applied for their re-arrest. Judge Rumpff rejected the application.

After Sharpeville and Langa

Dependants of the 200 Africans who were killed and wounded at Sharpeville have asked the Government for compensation totalling £350,000. (*Guardian*, August 23.)

The charges against fifty-three of the seventy-six Africans arrested after the shooting at Sharpeville on March 21 were withdrawn by the acting Attorney-General of the Transvaal, Mr. P. S. Claassen, Q.C. During the Sharpeville inquiry Mr. Claassen, then Attorney-General of the Orange Free State, led the Crown evidence.

One of the accused men died in jail, so twenty-two have still to face charges alleging public violence. Many have been more than four months first in hospital and then in prison. Ten days after Sharpeville fifty-two Africans appeared before the Vereeniging magistrate and were not allowed bail. They were subsequently remanded several times and bail for most of them was set at £50, later reduced to £10—but none was able to take advantage of this. About twelve of the accused were served with notices of arrest during March while they were still patients at Baragwanath Hospital, near Johannesburg, but two were found to be juveniles and were released. On March 30 another ten were placed under arrest while still in hospital and soon afterwards a further six. All those arrested in hospital had been wounded by police fire at Sharpeville.

During May the cases against nine men were abandoned but a further fifteen persons were charged. (*The Times*, August 8.)

The *S.A. Star* (July 29) reported that Mrs. Beatrice Manjatti, whose baby son was shot dead by a guard of the South African Navy during the Nyanga unrest in April, had not had an offer of compensation from the Department of Justice. The finding of a Wynberg magistrate at an inquest into the shooting was: "The firing of the shot would appear to have been precipitated and uncalled for in the circumstances."

Solomon Sello, a 27-year-old Pan-Africanist Congress official, who was jailed for incitement, died in the Pretoria Central Prison, in July. The *Rand Daily Mail* said it was believed that Sello underwent an operation shortly before he was arrested.

Ex-Chief Albert Luthuli, 61-year-old president of the banned African National Congress, was ordered to pay a fine of £100 or go to prison for twelve months by the Pretoria magistrate for burning his pass book on March 27 as a protest against the pass laws. The court also imposed a prison sentence of six months, suspended for three years, on condition that Luthuli is not convicted of a similar offence during that period. (*The Times*, September 1.) £100 was sent from the Defence and Aid Fund in London to pay the fine.

Deportation of Bishop of Johannesburg

The Rt. Rev. Ambrose Reeves, Bishop of Johannesburg, returned to South Africa on September 10 and was admitted by the immigration authorities without incident. But two days later he was served with a deportation order signed by the Minister of the Interior.

The head of Special Branch, Colonel Spengler, then escorted the bishop from St. Benedict's, Rosettenville, to the Special Branch office, having informed Dr. Reeves that he could meet his lawyers there, but when he arrived he was told that his lawyers would be at the airport. Colonel Spengler, however, left his car which drove on to the runway and the bishop was escorted to the aircraft by the two remaining detectives. He repeatedly asked when he could see his lawyers, but it soon became obvious this was not going to happen. Bishop Reeves said: "I told the detectives that this was one of the most blatant examples of downright lying I had ever experienced in my life." Dr. Reeves's departure was cloaked in secrecy. He did not go through the normal exit formalities, but was apparently put on board before the airliner was towed to the apron where the other passengers embarked.

Sir de Villiers Graaff, leader of the Opposition, urged the Government to make a full statement on the reason for the deportation of Dr. Reeves. It was strange, he said, that Dr. Reeves was allowed unquestioned entry only a day or two ago and had now been deported.

On arrival in London Dr. Reeves told the Press that his lawyers had advised him that his expulsion by the South African Government, hurried as it was, was illegal. The cable came from the Rev. A. G. Sidebotham, his vicar-general. Commenting on it the bishop said that the illegality was probably a technicality only.

Asked if he knew why he had been expelled, he said he did not. He had certainly never engaged in party politics. He had been opposed to apartheid. "In the Anglican Church one of the things a bishop is charged to do is to banish erroneous teaching and I believe that apartheid is erroneous teaching because it is an affront to the Gospel," he said. "I am still Bishop of Johannesburg. It is my present intention to remain such till I see more clearly than I do now what is best for the Church there."

In South Africa the Archbishop of Cape Town said the deportation was "unbelievable religious persecution". The archbishop added that the proposed World Council of Churches conference in December would now have to be held outside the Union where both Dr. Reeves and the Non-White clergy could move freely.

The Dutch Reformed Church of Africa described the World Council of Churches' call for a report on the deportation of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Ambrose Reeves, Bishop of Johannesburg, as interference in South Africa's internal political affairs. In a statement the Commission of the Reformed Church said it did not recognize the right of the World Council to intervene when, for security reasons, it was considered necessary to expel someone who was not a citizen of the country. The Commission could not agree with the Archbishop of Cape Town that discussion with the World Council of Churches should take place beyond the borders of the Union, because compliance with this demand "would imply that there is no real freedom of movement in our country—an allegation which we reject as false".

The president of the Methodist Conference in South Africa, Dr. Leslie Hewson, issued a protest in the name of the Methodist Church of South Africa against Dr. Reeves's deportation.

English-speaking South Africans are being exhorted by the *S.A. Star* to use the referendum on October 5 as an opportunity to protest against the Government's handling of Dr. Reeves. It says that by its uncereemonious deporting of the spiritual head of one of the biggest Anglican communities in South Africa the Government is conducting a campaign against English-speaking South Africans.

Die Burger, expressing the views of Cape Nationalists, said Dr. Reeves was not the only example of people who are being brought to South Africa to take up positions that could have been better occupied by South Africans. The newspaper believes that a large section of English-speaking South Africans are aware of this problem and that the time has come for them to find a solution to it.

The *Cape Times* said that even assuming that Dr. Reeves is everything that the Government thinks he is, the method of his summary expulsion from South Africa was hamhanded and reckless.

Bishop Reeves is an honorary president of the Africa Bureau which issued the following statement on the deportation: "Bishop Reeves's deportation is a mean-spirited action on the part of the South African Government only comparable with its denial of rights to those arrested at the time of the emergency. Having failed to arrest him in March the Government has ensured that Bishop Reeves will not receive a fair trial by arbitrarily deporting him as 'undesirable'."

"The British Government must protest most strongly against this treatment of one of its leading citizens who in challenging apartheid was fulfilling his duty as a Christian leader. It is to be hoped that, convinced of South Africa's continued disregard of elementary freedom even after the emergency has been lifted, Her Majesty's Government will adopt a strong policy at the United Nations on South African and South West African issues."

The Bishop of Woolwich, Dr. J. A. T. Robinson, described Dr. Reeves's banishment as "an action that vitally affects the Commonwealth and cannot possibly be claimed by the South African Government as a purely domestic issue".

There had been considerable correspondence in the *Star* following on a letter signed "Anglican" saying: "If the bishop returns to his see, he will undoubtedly precipitate a crisis and he will face an angry and hostile laity at his annual synod in October." The large majority of letters disagreed strongly with this view, spoke of the bishop's courage and of his twelve years of Christian leadership and fight for justice for the underprivileged. "Another Anglican" wrote (July 18): "The real trouble was that his views were unpopular among some of his comfortable and privileged flock. When they could accuse him of 'deserting' them it was a heaven-sent opportunity, which his detractors seized with both hands." W. V. Hain wrote (July 21): "Bishop Reeves's decision to return in the face of much hysterical hostility not only from his enemies but from those whom he should have cause to count as his supporters, is an act of great faith and courage."

The Republic

The National Party's special congress on the republic question decided that it was in the country's interests to remain in the Commonwealth if it became a republic by the referendum planned on October 5. It resolved: "If, in spite of past practice, maintenance of membership is refused to South Africa (which could only be due to interference in a domestic matter, namely its race policy), a republic will be established which, though not a member of the Commonwealth, will maintain friendly and other relations with those countries of the Commonwealth which are prepared to reciprocate."

Mr. John Diefenbaker, Prime Minister of Canada, told the Canadian House of Commons recently that South Africa could not count on automatic Commonwealth membership if she decided to become a republic. That had been made plain to the South African Government at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference. He added that this was accepted by all. "May I say most unequivocally that nothing was said by me which would indicate or justify the conclusion that any advance acceptance was assured in the event that a referendum vote was in favour of the setting up of a republic." (*South Africa*, July 16.)

The Economist (September 24) wrote:

South Africans are now getting down to the question of what leaving the Commonwealth would mean economically. In the forefront is Professor H. M. Robertson of Cape Town University, whose penetrating analysis of the full consequences of severing the Commonwealth links appears in the latest issue of *Optima*, the review of the Anglo-American Corporation. Professor Robertson counters the argument that trade preferences, being mutually beneficial, would survive the ending of Commonwealth ties by pointing out that any new preferences would have to be approved by G.A.T.T., the General Agreement of Tariffs and Trade, which would be most unlikely to sanction them. He also contests the assumption that Britain gains more from the preference system than does South Africa, and calculates that in return for preferences accorded to South African imports in Britain, estimated to give an advantage of £6 million, South Africa's preferences on imports from Britain offer an advantage of

less than £2 million. The loss of tariff preferences would put South African exporters at a disadvantage in its important Commonwealth markets, and they might not find it easy to enter new ones.

Professor Robertson emphasizes too the importance of British capital in the Union's development. In the ten years 1946-55, £700 million of foreign capital entered the Union; of that £500 million came from the United Kingdom, £100 million from the United States and £50 million from the World Bank. At the end of 1956, foreign investment in the Union was £1,396 million of which £856 million represented assets of United Kingdom investors. In fact, South Africa's free access to the London capital market since the war stems from its membership of the sterling area, not of the Commonwealth; whether South Africa would remain in the sterling area after leaving the Commonwealth is another question.

The Union's key link with sterling is the arrangement by which it sells the bulk of its gold on the London market; recently the South African authorities have been developing other outlets, but still in a small way. In practice, British capital in any case is now pulling out of South Africa, though the South African authorities might be anxious to maintain access to the London market in the hope of refinancing loans which mature in a few years. "The Union," says Professor Robertson, "must recover its attractiveness to overseas investors, which, at present, has to a great extent been lost. . . . Will this be achieved more easily within or outside the Commonwealth? Surely there can be only one answer. . . ."

Apartheid—Social and Sporting

Johannesburg's Western Areas were finally cleared of 56,000 people according to a proclamation on August 20. A number of "squatters" remain.

As Mr. D. Brutus, secretary of the non-racial South African Sports Association, was refused a passport to Rome, to address the International Olympics Committee on the position of Non-White sportsmen in South Africa, the Rev. Michael Scott took his place.

The International Olympic Games Committee sent a circular to all ninety-nine nations participating in the Games, to assure them that there is not one Non-European sportsman in South Africa up to international standard. Mr. Scott, on behalf of the Campaign Against Discrimination in Sport, pointed out to the committee that quite apart from the question of the non-recognition of Africans and their associations by the South African Olympic Games Committee there is also the artificial handicap of unequal conditions of competition and lack of facilities.

The Non-White South African Sports Association sent a cable to the Imperial Cricket Conference, requesting it to discuss alleged racial discrimination in cricket. In the cable, the association "urgently" renewed its request of June 1959, for the conference "to consider racial discrimination in the National Cricket Association in South Africa". (*The Times*, July 14.)

The United Nations and Apartheid

Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, United Nations Secretary-General, had to postpone indefinitely his visit to the Union because of developments in the Congo.

Forty nations, including Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Ireland and the Afro-Asian countries requested the General Assembly to place on its agenda "The Question of Race Conflict in South Africa resulting from the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Union of South Africa". In their attached explanatory memorandum, they said that the appeal made by the Assembly last year had "failed to bring about any reconsideration" of the Union's racial policies. On the contrary, they declared, "the progressive imposition of apartheid measures has led to mounting tension and bitterness between the various racial groups in the Union and has culminated in acts of violent repression directed against the rights and interests of the overwhelming majority of the Union's population. At a time when large areas of Africa are rapidly emerging into independent nationhood, the racial policies of the Government of the Union of South Africa, amounting to a mass denial of human rights, constitute a continuing violation of the Charter."

The treatment of people of Indian and of Indo-Pakistan origin in the Union were among other items submitted.

Academics' View

Sir Julian Huxley in a lecture to the Natal University National Education Conference said: "If I criticize anything in your politics or institutions, it is because they seem to me to run counter to that process of human fulfilment in which I profoundly believe. In the first place, the policy of the South African Government is a racist one. Racism is based on the same belief that inspired Hitler—the belief in the inherent and permanent superiority of some races, and the inherent and permanent inferiority of others. I said belief. I should have said superstition, for our modern knowledge shows that it is not true." (*Pretoria News*, July 13.)

Professor C. W. de Kiewiet, president of Rochester University in New York and of the Association of American Universities, said in the course of the Hoernle lecture to the South African Institute of Race Relations: "If it was ever possible to form a league or bloc of the White communities of Kenya, the Belgian Congo, the Rhodesias and South Africa, this is now entirely out of the question. The hope that the Federation would be the first successful experiment in multi-racial political co-operation is much less bright than it once was. The crisis is severe."

Any continuance of the Federation could be assured only by concessions to Native political demands. Alternatives were becoming fewer, and compromise more difficult. The possibility of a collapse of the Federation must be envisaged. It would be "a moment of truth for the White population".

Considering new governments in Africa, he said: "Africa had all the problems, and more, that had caused political institutions in Pakistan, Burma and Indonesia to 'falter or become distorted'. Balkanization and internal disruptions were possibilities which had to be considered. The stalemate of the cold war has caused the influence of the lesser powers to increase. Outside the Iron Curtain even the smallest and newest nations are active and vocal. They are courted by the greater states. Neither the United States nor the United Kingdom can take any position that reduces the political role of Africa. There will be no opposition to the rise of African political aspirations. To this fact the White populations of Kenya, the Congo, the Rhodesias, and South Africa must reconcile themselves."

What African leaders were asking of the outside world, he said, was help in establishing their nationalism, not democracy or Communism. (*Pretoria News*, July 8.)

Professor P. J. Idenburg, Director-General of Statistics in Holland, after attending the National Education Conference, said that orthodox Protestant Hollanders could contribute considerably towards forming another mentality in South Africa—a mentality which might lead to a realistic perspective which, however, has little chance with the self-sufficiency and conversation of the ruling Nationalist group. (*S.A. Star*, July 25.)

Professor J. H. Coetzee, lecturer in Bantu administration at Potchefstroom University, said that the European powers in Africa all failed to take account of the natural aspirations of the Bantu people to adulthood, including especially political and national freedom. White rulers had been thrown on the defensive instead of taking the lead and implementing their trusteeship task in alliance with the wards. In a country such as South Africa the National Party and the A.N.C. should have been the greatest allies instead of opponents. But he warned against an excessively simplified and generalized attitude that all leaders who took part in the national movements were merely agitators, and added: "There exists a very strong element of academically well-trained, well-educated and civilized people in the Western sense among this leader corps. There are crack organizers and shrewd politicians among them."

Professor Coetzee said that it might be true to say that the really politically active leaders of the Bantu had little or no support in the reserves but it was extremely difficult for any White to judge and it would be better to assume that the support, confidence and sympathy from the reserves was bigger than generally believed. Even if that conception was mistaken one fact remained incontrovertible: as far as numbers are concerned, the urban areas may be in the minority compared to the platteland and the reserves, but from a qualitative point of view they are far and away

the most important. "It is the nationally-minded Non-Whites in the industrial centres who hold the whiphand—here and everywhere in Africa."

South West Africa

South Africa, the Mandate and the Crown¹

The Times (September 5) in an editorial on South West Africa, described it as "the vulnerable point in the Union of South Africa's legal position" and pointed out that it would once again be a matter for debate at the United Nations.

"The Union's title to rule in South West Africa derives from the only surviving mandate of the League of Nations." It had declined to enter into a Trusteeship agreement with the United Nations "and was held by the International Court to be within its rights. The Court, however, also held, against the South African contention that the mandate had lapsed and the territory had become a part of the Union, that the mandate was still in force and the supervisory function of the League had passed to United Nations. The Union denies the obligation and has rendered no reports to the Trusteeship Council. Since 1949 South West Africa has been administered as an integral part of the Union, which means of course that the system of apartheid prevails in the territory.

"In 1957 a committee of the General Assembly, advised by Sir Hersch Lauterpacht, reported that by ignoring the terms of the mandate the Union was capable of falling into such a degree of illegality as would justify coercive measures by United Nations. The Government of Ghana recently drew up a 'background paper' which set out to show that this degree of illegality has in fact been reached. . . .

"The articles against which South Africa is accused of offending are those which require the Mandatory to promote material and moral well-being and social progress, to prohibit the slave trade, to keep the territory demilitarized, and to protect freedom of conscience and worship. . . .

"Regrettable as it is, no legal document can compel the Nationalist Government to introduce into South West Africa a social order which their Party exists to oppose, and which the more fanatical among them hold to be actually repugnant to the divine purpose. No doubt the logical conclusion would be to call upon them to resign a trust they cannot conscientiously discharge. That might put United Nations in a painful dilemma: for the people of South West Africa have had no chance yet to qualify themselves for self-government, and it is improbable that any other Power could or would assume the responsibility for the mandate.

"A nice point of law may arise if the Union becomes a republic, in or out of the Commonwealth. The mandate was originally granted to 'His Britannic Majesty, to be exercised on his behalf by the Government of the Union of South Africa'. This expression was formulated at a time when the indivisibility of the Imperial Crown was axiomatic. Since the Royal Titles Act, 1953, it may be reasonably held that 'Britannic Majesty' should be read in terms of the Queen's South African title—'Elizabeth II, Queen of South Africa . . . Head of the Commonwealth'; and that hereafter any republic to be created will be the succession state to the Kingdom of South Africa, inheriting the international rights and duties of its Queen. But if the two elements of the South African title become disjointed, it is also arguable that the true Mandatory is the Head of the Commonwealth, and that if the Government acting on behalf of the Mandatory leaves the Commonwealth the mandate becomes null and void. Alternatively, if a South African republic wishes to remain in the Commonwealth, it would seem competent for the other nations acknowledging the same Head to ask, before assenting to the proposal, whether the Union has made satisfactory terms with the United Nations to secure the future of South West Africa. One way or another it is not likely that the matter will be allowed to go by default."

On September 7, *The Times* reported that their leader had been widely quoted throughout South Africa and had already drawn considerable comment, including that of Mr. L. I. Coertze, M.P., that it was an effort to frighten South West Africa not to vote for change in the referendum on the republic on October 5.

¹See also *Mandate in Trust by Africa 1960 Committee*. London.

Mr. Eric Louw, the South African Minister of External Affairs, in a letter to the editor denied that Britain would have to be consulted about the future of South West Africa when the Union of South Africa becomes a republic and added: "May I suggest that you consult your legal adviser about the matter? Or, better still, you might look at the *Hansard* report of Alport's statement in the House of Commons on July 4, when he was questioned in regard to this matter. Mr. Alport pointed out that although the Mandate was at the time conferred on His Britannic Majesty to be exercised on his behalf by the Government of the Union of South Africa, this was simply the formally correct way of saying that it was given to the Union Government, which was at the time a fully independent Government . . . I am surprised that a paper of the standing of *The Times* should have fallen into this error." (*The Times*, September 9.)

Dr. Verwoerd issued a statement in Cape Town criticizing *The Times* for raising doubts about South Africa's position as mandatory of South West Africa.

He said: "According to the leading article as quoted, it could be argued that the Head of the Commonwealth is the actual mandatory and that the mandate over South West Africa would lapse if the Government acting on behalf of the mandatory should leave the Commonwealth. This submission is made on the basis that the mandate over South West Africa was originally vested with His Britannic Majesty to be administered on his behalf by the Union Government.

"It seems strange that a newspaper like the London *Times* should put forward such a submission, because juridically it cannot be justified. . . . It is unavoidable that the deduction will be made in South Africa that this newspaper, with the prestige it enjoys, is trying to raise doubts for the sole purpose of making propaganda against South Africa becoming a republic. . . .

"It is true that on occasion it has been maintained amongst others by Mr. Dingle Foot that it is questionable whether the Government of a Republic, of which the members no longer are subjects of the Queen, could still administer the mandate.

"Responsible quarters in the Commonwealth have not supported this view. Rather has the official viewpoint in the United Kingdom been that the Union's relationship towards South West Africa would not be altered if the Union were to adopt a republican form of government. Mr. Longden, a representative of the United Kingdom on the fourth committee of the United Nations General Assembly, said on October 16, 1958, that the Crown had no special responsibility towards South West Africa, because this was a matter for the Union."

Dr. Verwoerd then quoted from the *Guardian* (August 5) as saying: "The contention that a removal of the Crown as head of the Union Government would terminate the mandate can be dismissed as a pious hope." He continued: "An authoritative law adviser of the Department of External Affairs gave his opinion on this subject some time ago. His conclusion was that no student of international law or new English constitutional law could reasonably argue that the Crown could maintain its relationship to South West Africa if the Union became a republic."

The Rev. Michael Scott, director of the Africa Bureau, in a letter to *The Times* (September 13) said: "Your leading article referred to by Dr. Verwoerd rose above the level of argument which has demeaned South Africa at the United Nations over the past fourteen years. The Union Government makes use of the name of the British Crown when it is of some advantage. Thus at the time of the referendum among the Africans of South West Africa on the question of incorporation into the Union, the South African Government reported to the United Nations (*The History of a Mandate*, p. 84):

If there was one question that recurred more than others, it was whether any change in the administration of the Territory would remove them from under the shadow of the Crown of King George of England [*sic*]. Once assured that the change implied no departure from South Africa's partnership in the British Commonwealth of Nations, the Natives declared themselves fully satisfied on this point.

"So the 'overwhelming majority' claimed for incorporation was in reality for remaining within the Commonwealth or coming under some kind of British protection such as that experienced by their kinsmen in

Bechuanaland. It was really against incorporation, since the assurance given before they voted was a false assurance.

"But the main argument is not about status or where sovereignty lies, or whether the Mandate treaty can be modified by an Act (the South West Africa Constitution Act Amendment) or a series of unilateral acts by the Union Government, or even by the Statute of Westminster. The argument is about people, their land, their rights, their property, the education of their children, their future, what opportunities are to be open to them or closed. The indictment of South Africa is on account of her neglect and denial of her own obligations both political and moral, her dispossession of the African people of their lands and rights.

"She had assumed the duty to protect and foster these, and to be accountable to those who had entrusted them to her. This included the transmission of reports and petitions, which, in the opinion of the International Court, should be sent to the United Nations. Is it a further advisory opinion that is needed? What the Africans say is needed is a compulsory judgement. This, they say, might bring other countries such as Britain and the United States, which had the original responsibility and have most influence on South Africa, to act in a matter which has frustrated the United Nations for fourteen years.

"Meanwhile more land is being taken away from Africans and given to Europeans. Apartheid is being applied to education. Undernourished children are being prevented from being fed either by the municipal authorities or by the United Nations International Children's Fund, as could be done if normal relations existed with the United Nations. (The Chief Bantu Commissioner disallowed a municipal school feeding scheme where a survey had shown the children to be suffering from malnutrition, on the grounds that it would give the growing youth a mistaken sense of dependence on the State, and might lead to abuses by the 'well to do who do not need it'.)

"Surely the time has come for the mandate to be revoked. There is still time for orderly procedures to be followed in bringing justice to these so long oppressed people. But the United Nations should be preparing to assume itself the responsibility of administering this sacred trust of civilization."

The Times (September 14) then commented: "Dr. Verwoerd is no more the final authority on what would be the status in international law of South West Africa if the Union becomes a republic than is Mr. Alport or any other member of Her Majesty's Governments in any part of the Commonwealth. South West Africa is a burning issue not only for the new African states but also for many members of the United Nations. Dr. Verwoerd and Mr. Louw have little use for the United Nations, but they cannot escape from the awkward questions at United Nations and at the International Court of Justice. They will, no doubt, snap their fingers alike at the legal arguments and the pleas of equity brought forward by their critics. They can be assured of one thing however the legal decisions may go. They are damned in the eyes of all men of good will all over the world for having been false to a trust.

"No amount of ingenious chicanery can obscure the simple basic facts about South West Africa. It was a German possession, fiendishly abused. It was placed under the mandatory system of the League of Nations in order that its wretched tribesmen might be given a new deal in the light of decent world opinion. Instead of fulfilling this obligation of honour, the South African Government, quibbling barefacedly about the succession from League to United Nations, has swallowed South West Africa into its vile scheme of apartheid, and has, adding insult to injury, taken advantage of its misdoings to strengthen its parliamentary majority. The Nationalist Party has helped itself to extra seats out of South West African voters. There is only one verdict possible in this sorry business. A mandate has been stolen and the thieves are vainly protesting their innocence."

The Windhoek Advertiser (June 24) said that it was already clear that Britain was thinking along the lines of trusteeship as a solution of the South West African problem. "She will not be alone in this line of thought, and it is likely that the United States of America will also vote in this direction when the General Assembly finally discusses our problem later in the year. The fact appears to be that the Western Powers are competing in

Africa to keep the new African states from the Communist camp and their continuous support of the Union on the South West issue has become an embarrassment. The whole problem, of course, revolves round the Union racial policy and its application in South West Africa."

United Nations Committee Hearings and Report

Jariretundu Kozonguizi, Sam Nujoma and Mburumba Kerina Getzen asked that South Africa's mandate over South West Africa should be revoked when they testified before the United Nations Committee on South West Africa about the shootings that took place in Windhoek on December 10, 1959.¹

Mr. Nujoma, who left Windhoek in February, represents the South West Africa People's Organization. He asked the United Nations to send a commission "to investigate the killings, deportations and the removals of the African peoples from their traditional lands".

The Committee on South West Africa prepared a thirty-eight-page report on political conditions in the country for submission to the General Assembly which included reference to the tension and unrest resulting from apartheid. It appealed to the Union Government to abandon this policy which was a flagrant violation of the mandate and to cease military exercises in the mandated territory. In the section on economic and social conditions it remarked that "Now that exports from South West Africa appear to be about £45 million a year, the statistics conceal 'the most alarming characteristic of the economy of the territory, namely that its buoyancy and prosperity, and even the flow of public investment, benefited primarily the European section'."

The Committee recommended that South Africa should undertake a programme of improvement of the economic status of the Non-European population, and that it avail itself for this purpose of the facilities that can be provided by the United Nations and its specialized agencies. It also recommended as a matter of urgency that emergency assistance be sought from the United Nations Children's Fund for the relief of distress caused by the drought.

Concerning land allocation and alienation, the committee reiterated its recommendation that the Mandatory Power consult with the Herero leaders in South West Africa, with a view to selecting and making available to the Herero people sufficient land for repatriation to South West Africa of those Hereros desiring reunification with their people in the mandated territory.

Concerning freedom of movement, the committee reiterated its opinion that unwarranted restrictions, based on race and colour, placed on the freedom of movement of the territory's Native population, were in "flagrant disregard of the principles and purposes of the Mandate Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration of Human Rights". It urged the Mandatory Power to lift all such restrictions. (*Windhoek Advertiser*, July 6, 12 and 29, 1960.)

The Committee also considered developments preceding and subsequent to the Windhoek location riot of last December 10-11 and it made these comments that it regretted that the opposition of Africans in the urban areas and of the United Nations to the application of the requirements laid down for urban areas by the former Minister of Native Affairs should have been so long ignored by the mandatory power. It recommended the return of people deported from Windhoek and the cessation of forced removals, as well as financial assistance to improve living conditions in the old location.

The committee noted with regret the continuation of segregated schools and the introduction of Bantu education which would separate Africans from each other on an ethnic basis.

Considering the disproportionate amounts spent and allocated from the territory's revenue for the education of the different racial groups in the territory, the committee urged the Mandatory Power to "ensure a substantial increase in Government allocation for the education of Non-Europeans, particularly Natives, in a manner more compatible with their needs".

Once again it hoped that the Union Government would "reconsider its decision with respect of the granting of a passport" to Ben Tunguru Huaraka, to enable him to take up the scholarship extended to him by the

¹DIGEST VII, 5.

Government of Ghana. It also urged South Africa to "reconsider its regrettable position" banning the return of the Rev. Michael Scott, an Anglican priest, to the territory to confer with the Herero tribe.

Professor Questions South Africa's Administration

At the Science Congress in Johannesburg on July 4, Professor J. H. Wellington, formerly Professor of Geography at the University of the Witwatersrand, posed the question of whether South Africa had fulfilled her "sacred trust" towards the indigenous peoples of South West Africa. Reading a paper on "Geography and Human Issues in South West Africa" he said he believed that South Africa's claim at the United Nations to have given the Native 20 million hectares of land in South West Africa was incorrect. He said that 5.9 million hectares in the police zone had been given by South Africa to the Natives, but that the remaining 14.7 million in the northern territories were in the possession of the Natives even when it was a German colony.

The Natives, numbering 400,000, now held 20 million hectares, whereas the Europeans, settled mainly by South Africa since 1952 and numbering 60,000, held altogether 37.6 million hectares of the best land.

South Africa, he said, had allocated only a small area to the Hereros in the southern Hardeveld and had sent the remainder of the Hereros to the barren Kalahari sand area. The Union had then settled South African farmers on the fertile Hardeveld area. (*Windhoek Advertiser*, July 5.)

Drought and Poverty

Conditions in South West Africa which have been prevailing during the past year were described as the most serious and damaging experienced in the territory's history by the Administrator of South West Africa in his budget speech.

In a petition to the United Nations dated June 28, Chief Hosea Kitako said: "Life is very hard in the reserves. South West Africa experienced severe drought during the past few years. Africans suffered heavy losses of livestock. No assistance was given to the Africans during this drought although the Europeans were given financial assistance by the Government. Boreholes were sunk in uninhabited lands and these lands were given to the White farmers as an assistance to them during the severe drought."

The Acting Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner for South West Africa sent out a circular letter to all associations and organizations whose members employ contract Ovambo or extra-Territorial Natives, asking for their recommendations concerning the minimum contract wages to be paid to these Natives, during the first twelve months' service. In his letter the Commissioner has stated: "You are aware of the complaints in regard to the service conditions of the extra-Territorial and Northern Bantu labourers. The main complaints are as follows: (a) The present contract period (eighteen months) is too long; (b) wages are too low, and (c) the limited freedom of choice of employer." With regard to wages, he said: "The complaint about low wages is a constant one. It is of course realized that many employers pay more than the basic contract wage, but there are a number who enforce the minimum wage of 1s. 3d. or 1s. 9d. a shift; this means that a class 'A' labourer earns 32s. 6d. a month for the first twelve months and 45s. 6d. thereafter. You will agree that these wages are inadequate, especially when it is borne in mind that during drought periods the labourer has to support a family in Ovamboland and during the recent drought had to pay 43s. for a bag of mealies." (*Windhoek Advertiser*, July 7.)

Effects of the Boycott

The Administrator of South West Africa, Mr. D. Viljoen, said at the opening of the new State Hospital in Windhoek, the first in the Union of South West Africa where only Europeans were being employed: "We are living in a dangerous world at present. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, has been visiting in the Congo for a number of days and conferring with a handful of Natives, and he can't achieve a thing." The Administrator added that the entire population would have to help the Administration save money, because the boycott of South African goods would cost South West Africa about £1 million. (*Windhoek Advertiser*, August 3.)

The *Advertiser* estimated that if the Ghana and Malaya boycotts include South West Africa products—there is no reason to believe that this is not the case—then South West Africa must now find a market for 20 per cent of its £10 million fishing industry products. (August 2.)

Dismissals and Deportations

The *South West News* (August 6) reported a wave of arrests, pass refusals, dismissals from jobs, prohibition and deportation orders in the main towns of South West Africa. It listed a number of African Municipal employees dismissed from their jobs for refusing to move to Katutura, the new location. Mr. Louis Nelegani, vice-president of the South West Africa People's Organization, was deported. He informed the Press that he was called to the office of the Assistant Native Commissioner where he was instructed to ready himself for his removal from Windhoek. When he asked the reason for the action, he was told "You are working against the Government" and nothing more.

Both the *South West News* and the *Windhoek Advertiser* approached the Assistant Native Commissioner. To the former he replied: "I am sorry I can't discuss departmental matters with you" and bang went the telephone receiver! In the case of the latter when the reporter mentioned the name Louis Nelegani, Mr. Malherbe jumped up from his chair, threw a ruler on to his desk, and said: "I am not prepared to discuss this matter. You can go and see the Chief Native Commissioner." Before he was deported Mr. Nelegani protested against the recent deportation of David Kangue who is 88 years and who came to settle in Windhoek in 1915 and was deported to Ovamboland in July.

Bantu Education

South West Africa's first non-racial newspaper *South West News* (July 9) reported the Department of Education's plans to institute Bantu Education. After the director had told the African Teachers Association of this new system, a member of the Executive Council, Mr. A. H. du Plessis, spoke on Black and White relationship and the place of the African intellectuals. "The White man will not go. What is happening in the rest of Africa will not happen in this country," said Mr. du Plessis. The Whites in other parts of Africa are colonists but Whites in South Africa form a White state, he said. In spite of the fact that Mr. du Plessis said he did not intend talking politics his long speech was centred around agitators.

WEST AFRICA Angola

Call for Independence

THE All-African People's Conference called on the Portuguese Government in Angola and in Lisbon to fix a date for the freedom of Angola and to grant "immediate independence" to the people. . . . The conference declared its support of the millions of Africans who are struggling under what it described as "the fascist régime of the Portuguese" and condemned the "inhuman acts being meted out to innocent Africans for their unjust and noble course in the struggle for freedom". (*Ghana Daily Graphic*, August 6.)

Dr. Manuel Joao de Palma Carlos, a Portuguese lawyer, was refused permission to leave Lisbon by air for Luanda to lead the defence of eight men accused of crimes against security committed by distributing leaflets demanding independence. The defendants were among the many arrested since early 1959. Among those recently arrested was the Chancellor of the Archbishop of Luanda, the Rev. Father Joaquim Pinto de Andrade, who has been removed to prison in Lisbon. (*Guardian*, July 25.)

Cameroons, British Future Status

REGISTRATION of voters for the United Nations plebiscite of February 11 next will take place between October 6 and November 1. Anyone aged

21 and over, born in the Southern Cameroons or with one parent born there will be eligible to vote on whether the Southern Cameroons should join Nigeria or the Cameroun Republic. (*West Africa*, September 10.)

Mr. Foncha, Prime Minister of the Southern Cameroons, has reached agreement with President Ahidjo of the Cameroun Republic on a federal-type unification of the two territories. A study group will be formed to examine ways of creating the federation and a meeting of representatives of all the areas of Cameroun. Mr. Ahidjo said: "I am certain the population of the Southern Cameroons will be able to prove to the world their maturity in voting massively in favour of a decision which goes in accordance with the sense of logic and the history of their country." (*West Africa*, July 23.)

The *Guardian* (August 19) said: "The Premier, Mr. Foncha, advocates joining the French-speaking Republic; the leader of the Opposition, Dr. Endeley, recommends the Nigerian Federation. . . . If the plebiscite goes in favour of Mr. Foncha, we must expect a breakdown in internal security or additional French troops taking over responsibility for law and order—a decision which is not likely to be welcomed in Accra, Conakry, or by the United Nations. . . . Dr. Endeley, who fears being called either a Nigerian or British stooge, wants United Nations troops. Britain, as the administrator of the United Nations trusteeship, wants to be rid of its overseas obligations as quickly as possible, but officials at the Colonial Office and Commonwealth Relations Office are particularly concerned that the little goodwill we have accumulated in West Africa should not now be lost."

"But, unless the citizens of the Southern Cameroons vote in favour of integration with Nigeria—and Dr. Endeley's sophistication and distance from the ordinary peasant makes this unlikely—it looks as if Britain is soon to reappear in the United Nations dock as the wicked imperialist."

Dr. Endeley has said that his Party, the Cameroons People's National Convention, will celebrate Nigeria's independence on October 1 with native dances, processions and parties—to show the world that "we are firmly resolved to salvage our country from the misery, bloodshed and uncertainty that have been brought on them by the K.N.D.P. Government".

Congo Republic

Independence Ceremony

M. ANDRÉ MALRAUX, Minister of Culture, represented France at the independence ceremony of the Congo Republic on August 15 at Brazzaville. Documents of notification were exchanged covering the transfer of the remaining powers of the central authority of the French Community to the Government of M. Fulbert Youlou.

M. Youlou said: "France . . . has led us wisely and surely to independence. She has prepared us for it during long years, instructing us, equipping us, and showing fraternal affection and devotion."

M. Opaugault, leader of the Opposition party, the African Socialist Movement, and a former Prime Minister, has joined the Government as Minister of State. (*Guardian*, August 16.)

Ghana

Press Censorship

UNDER the Criminal Code Amendment Act passed by the National Assembly in August, the President is empowered to make executive instruments requiring newspapers and other publications, which had been indulging in the systematic publication of matters calculated to prejudice public order or safety, to be submitted to scrutiny before publication.

Introducing the Bill, Mr. Kwako Boateng, the Minister of Information and Broadcasting, said there was a "persistent element" in the country that constantly belittled and depreciated the work the Government was doing. The Government had no intention of "setting up a monopoly or attempting to impose a single set of ideas on anyone. But at a time when

the whole future of Africa depends on the efforts put forth by the Government and the country, it would not be right for the Government to take no action to prevent an apparently deliberate campaign against public order and national economy." (*The Times*, August 25.)

On September 3, it was announced that the *Ashanti Pioneer* would not be permitted to appear from then on unless its contents had been censored. This action brought protests from the International Press Institute at Zurich. The Institute said the application of the new censorship law seemed totally unwarranted at a time when there was no emergency; in fact, the measures taken against the newspaper have been far more severe than announced in the President's order. Even when the editor, under protest, had been prepared to delete or amend articles disapproved of by the censor this official had refused to allow the newspaper to be published at all, and copies have been seized.

The Institute has appealed to President Nkrumah to repeal the executive instrument signed by him against the newspaper, to ensure the freedom of publication at the earliest possible moment and to reconsider the application of pre-censorship in his country. (*The Times*, September 8.)

A telegram sent to Dr. Nkrumah by the Commonwealth Press Union said that the Union was "gravely concerned" at the imposition of censorship on the *Ashanti Pioneer*. The message said: "Such action appears inconsistent with democracy, and deprives your citizens of their fundamental right of free access to uncontrolled news. If the newspaper is considered guilty of subversion or of endangering security, then the editor should be tried by process of the law."

Opposition Members Arrested

The Government has announced detention orders against thirteen United Party (opposition) members. (*Guardian*, August 26.)

The orders were made under the Preventive Detention Act.

Mr. Solomon Odamtten, the United Party chairman, announced his withdrawal from an Accra by-election because of "restrictive" police measures against his party. The opposition United Party announced that it had appealed to the United Nations against the Government's action in ordering the detention of its members. (*The Times*, August 26.)

Compulsory Trade Union Membership

An amendment to the Industrial Relations Act provides that workers who belong to a specified industry or employment but are not members of a trade union are not to be kept in any employment for a period exceeding one month. The Bill makes it an offence for any employer to continue to employ a non-trade union member in any industry for more than one month. It also provides a period of two weeks within which the Minister of Labour will appoint an arbitrator for trade disputes. An arbitrator, so appointed, is empowered to "summon and examine witnesses on oath".

A memorandum to the Bill, signed by Mr. Boateng, explained that it sought to remedy certain anomalies which had come to light in the working of the Industrial Relations Act, 1958. . . . The Bill would provide disciplinary control of trade unions in a manner that would make them more responsible in their actions. It will also stop any attempt to have two rival unions competing for certification in the same industry.

Mr. Kwetu Boateng, Minister of Labour, said the Bill sought to give recognition to the practice of "union shop" as obtained in New Zealand. Delays in the appointment of arbitrators, the Minister said, had been some of the causes of serious labour troubles. The Government, he said, was determined to take such measures as would ensure that peace prevailed in industries. It was easy for some people to believe that the system of trade union organization and industrial practice based entirely on the principle of voluntarism offered the best possible advantages for any new nation, but the Government did not subscribe to this view.

Mr. Joe Appiah of the United Party said the Bill contradicted the provisions of the constitution regarding freedom of expression and association. (*Ghana Daily Graphic*, August 26.)

The Budget

Some of the steps which are to be taken by Ghana towards "winning the economic battle" were outlined by the Minister of Finance, Mr. K. A.

Gbedemah, when making his Budget speech to the National Assembly.

Mr. Gbedemah proposed modernization of the banking laws to put banks in Ghana on the same basis as in other modern and developing countries. The major part of the business of Government-sponsored bodies should be handled through the Ghana Commercial Bank. Legislation should be passed which would enable the Government to buy up any strategic minerals won in Ghana for disposal by herself to world consumers. Ghana would thus be able to bargain for better and more profits which could be used for benefit of her people. By 1964 all the purchasing of the cocoa crop should be done for the Marketing Board only, by Ghanaian farmers' co-operatives, and unions recognized by the Government.

Mr. Gbedemah said he proposed to impose higher taxes on motor vehicles, artificial silks, imported matches, knitted woollen wear, underclothes, aluminium, asbestos, cement, iron and steel sheets. By these and other proposals, said the Minister, he hoped to raise an extra £5 million this year. This would cover recurrent expenditure and bring a surplus of £3 million to £3½ million which could either be used for new services without having to raise additional taxes, or be used for development.

Mr. Gbedemah said there was an overall programmed expenditure in his Budget of over £104½ million. Five years earlier the comparable figure was £46 million. "If progress is ever measured in terms of budget spending," he said, "then we in Ghana have certainly made some progress in these five years."

"The era we have lived through was marked by one of the calmest revolutions known in history, when a people have by sheer force of their will to be free, convinced their colonial rulers to hand over power gracefully and in good taste. The battle for economic freedom, on which we are embarking today, must also be won in as graceful a style."

During 1959 the total value of imports into Ghana increased by one-third. Duties from exports decreased by £2.79 million to £24.73 million, due entirely to lower receipts from export duty on cocoa.

The foreign trade amounted to £226 million in 1959. Ghana had a surplus balance on current account in 1958 of £10.8 million. In 1959 this was changed to a deficit of £11 million. There was therefore a deterioration of £22 million in the country's external position in the two-year period. This was due mainly to changes in the value of merchandise imports which increased by £28.8 million.

The year under review was dominated by a record cocoa crop and a marked increase in Government capital expenditure.

Of loans from abroad Mr. Gbedemah said: "Any prospective lenders will only be prepared to lend us money to the extent that they are satisfied that we shall be able to repay it."

"If loans are offered from any source at an abnormally low rate of interest, or in such a way that the lender does not appear to mind very much whether he is repaid or not, that is the signal for us to be on our guard. It may well be that a lender who does not want to be repaid in cash is counting on repayment in some other form. He may, for instance, be hoping to obtain some political influence for hard cash. Taking everything together, we are not yet a debtor nation since we have no external debt. We can regard ourselves as credit-worthy and we should not find difficulty in borrowing what we need for promoting the industrial programme apart from the Volta River Project."

A leading article in the semi-official *Ghanaian Times* urged a policy of economic nationalism, on lines claimed to have been foreshadowed in Finance Minister Gbedemah's budget speech last month. "Economically, Ghana is still tied to the apron strings of British imperialism," said the leading article. "Alien joint-stock companies with their head offices abroad and absentee shareholders dominate our home trade (wholesale and retail), our export trade, other than cocoa, shipping, insurance, banking, road transport, construction, warehousing services and our mining industry. Whilst our external investments are yielding us dividends not exceeding 3 per cent per annum, foreign investments in Ghana are earning anything between 20 and 150 per cent per annum, or more."

The article went on to list a number of "initial measures" which would shortly be announced. These included the institution of import control over all classes of imported consumer goods so as to make it possible gradually for the co-operative movements and private Ghanaian traders to have a fair share in Ghana's home trade. . . . The article commented that

in the past, millions of scarce capital have flown out of Ghana simply because "under the imperialist-inherited 'open door' economic policy, expatriate firms dabbling in our export trade have taken advantage to ship and sell abroad minerals and other uncontrolled goods; and, instead of ensuring that the capital proceeds of these exports are repatriated to Ghana, pound for pound, heavy slices are kept in overseas banks. And today even our own Statistical Department are not aware of the total private investment of residents in Ghana."

A final measure urged was "the strengthening of the Co-operative Movement under the leadership of the National Co-operative Council so that within the next few months warehouses will be built in the principal towns of this country, from the north to the south, from the east to the west, to serve as storage depots of staple imported commodities which will be released to the various consumers' supply and marketing co-operatives which under the able leadership of the Trades Union Congress and the United Ghana Farmers' Council, are being organized in town and countryside". The article added: "In these wholesales and retail stores owned by the Co-operative Movement, imported goods of various description will be sold to our workers and farmers at fixed prices, and the alien middleman will be completely eliminated step by step. In the same way, the alien or indigenous conscienceless money-lender will also be eliminated. This is what our farmers and workers are asking for, and this is what our Osagyefo and our party and Government had planned for them." (*West Africa*, August 20.)

Overseas Aid and the Volta

The United States has conditionally agreed to provide Ghana with a total of £10,700,000 towards financing the Volta Project. The announcement said agreement was conditional on Ghana reaching "a satisfactory arrangement" with the owners of a proposed aluminium plant to be constructed nearby and the additional financing required for the £58 million project. (*Ghana Daily Graphic*, August 20.)

The World Bank has also offered a loan of £14,300,000 and the British Government a £5 million loan.

The *Ghana Daily Graphic* (August 22) said the Ghana Government hoped to contribute just over £30 million. Approximately £60 million would go to the building of a dam and power installations on the River Volta to provide power for a planned aluminium smelter and other future industries in the area. The smelter, an integral part of the project, would cost about £75 million and would produce aluminium from the large nearby reserves of bauxite at an initial annual rate of about 120,000 tons.

Ghana and Russia have signed cultural and industrial agreements. Under the cultural agreement, the two countries will exchange students, teachers, professors, scientists.

Mr. Zhukov has said that the Russian people would like to see in their country Ghanaian scientists, teachers, writers and artists to study about tradition and people.

The Soviet News Agency *Tass* said the two countries will co-operate in geographical prospecting to reveal Ghana's mineral resources. They will also co-operate in building industrial plants, power dams, and in the organization of model state farms. Russia will train skilled Ghanaian workers. Under the trade agreement the two countries will give each other most-favoured nation treatment in all matters of commerce and shipping. It also provides for a clearing system of payments in all commercial operations between the two countries.

The Soviet Union has granted Ghana a long-term credit of 160 million roubles (about £14½ million at the official rate of exchange) to defray Soviet expenses in giving the technical help. (*Guardian*, August 29.)

The *Ghana Daily Graphic* (August 31) reported that four Russian turbo-prop airliners would be delivered to Ghana in September. They would be manned by Russian crews until such time as suitable Ghanaians were trained to take over. They would be used for medium-range services.

Wage Increase

All workers in Ghana earning less than £360 a year are to receive an increase of a shilling a day, with back pay from last July 1. The minimum wage will now be 6s. 6d. a day.

Announcing this, President Nkrumah said that he is satisfied that there has been an increase in the cost of living since the last round of wage increases. He was determined that the new increase should not be offset by price increases and he had ordered that the prices of all basic commodities not affected by the recent tax increases should be pegged. He emphasized that rents were already pegged.

The President said that they had carefully considered the effect of the increase on the Volta Project on which Ghana's economic future "predominantly" depended. But there had been remarkable wage restraint in Ghana for ten years and they had kept inflation under control. These were facts that investors should remember. He called on workers to give of their best, and said that in future anybody who sought employment would have to register at employment centres while employers would be able to recruit only through these centres. If organized labour was to continue to enjoy its present privileges, they would have to enforce discipline. (*West Africa*, September 3.)

Dr. Nkrumah at the United Nations

For the first time since Ghana attained independence Dr. Nkrumah, the President, will lead the country's delegation to the forthcoming United Nations General Assembly. He will be accompanied by the Foreign Minister, Mr. Adjei, who has been leading the country's delegations since 1957. It is believed that Dr. Nkrumah's main concern will be South Africa. (*Daily Telegraph*, September 6.)

The *Guardian* (September 6) said that Dr. Nkrumah held the view that it was time South Africa ceased to be responsible for South West Africa. He had declared time and again that Ghana's freedom will be meaningless unless it is linked with total liberation of the African continent. He has already mooted his intention to ask the United Nations to set definite dates for African colonial territories' achievement of independence. He thinks also that there should be international trusteeship to cover all African dependent countries before independence.

Nigeria

Independence: October 1960

THE Federation of Nigeria became a fully independent State, and a sovereign member of the British Commonwealth on October 1, 1960. Nigeria, which is larger than France and Italy combined, has a population of approximately 32 million.

The British Parliament passed the Nigerian Independence Bill in July. On the occasion of its second reading the Secretary of State for the Colonies said that a Code of Human Rights would be embodied in both Regional and Federal Constitutions. Each Government would be able to amend matters of purely internal concern.

Mr. Macleod said: "The Nigerian Government have made great progress in the training of their own Civil Servants and are following the practice of this country of insulating the Civil Service from politics by establishing executive public service commissions. The need is going to exist for substantial numbers of overseas officers to continue giving the devoted service they have rendered to Nigeria over the years. The basis of this new member of the Commonwealth was all the better because what he was putting before the House was primarily the work of Nigerians."

Mr. Macleod wished Nigeria well and said he was sure they could speed her on her way to independence with utter confidence. "I have a great admiration for that magnificent country and for her noble people. I am convinced that the world will be a better place for the emergence of Nigeria in its own sovereign right as a country, and I rejoice to think that this great country, in complete friendship with ourselves, is going now to take its place on the stage of world affairs." (*Hansard*, July 15.)

Sir James Robertson remains Governor-General of Nigeria for a brief period only. He retires in November and will be succeeded by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, who was, until recently, Premier of the Eastern Region and leader of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (N.C.N.C.). It was reported before the appointment had been confirmed that Dr.

Azikiwe had given a written undertaking to the Prime Minister that he would give up politics, but this was denied by the Prime Minister, who said in Parliament: "When I make my recommendations, I will not ask any individual whose name I am recommending to sign any undertaking." (*News from Nigeria*, August 6.)

The first British High Commissioner to Nigeria will be Mr. Antony Head, who left the post of Minister of Defence when Mr. Macmillan formed his first Ministry in January 1957. Mr. Head becomes a Viscount. (*The Times*, July 14.)

Princess Alexandra is to represent the Queen at Nigeria's independence celebrations, and many Governments are to be represented by leading statesmen.

Ten West African countries entered for the West African Games for Independence to be held in Nigeria between October 1 and 10. They are Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Dahomey, Togoland, Liberia, Fernando Po, the Cameroons, the Gambia, Portuguese Guinea and the Sudan. Overseas competitors were expected to include the United Kingdom, Australia, the West Indies, and the United States.

The designer of the Christmas decorations in Regent Street, Mr. Beverley Pick, has designed all the decorations in the capital for the independence celebrations. These decorations alone will cost nearly £200,000. (*Guardian*, September 2.)

Foreign Policy

The Prime Minister of the Federation, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, on August 20, in the House of Representatives, made the following statement on the foreign policy of the Federal Government.

"In formulating its policy for the conduct of foreign affairs the Federal Government recognizes that its primary duty is to safeguard and promote the interests of the Federation and of its citizens.

"We have already declared our intention of applying to join both the Commonwealth and the United Nations. In regard to the former, it is important to understand that all members of the Commonwealth are autonomous communities equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs. While therefore benefiting greatly from the free interchange of ideas and consultation between the members of the Commonwealth, and from their experience within the framework of the United Nations, we shall nevertheless have a free hand to select those policies which we consider to be most advantageous for Nigeria, subject always to our belief in the principles of the United Nations. . . .

"We consider it wrong for the Federal Government to associate itself as a matter of routine with any of the power blocs. This freedom of action will be an essential feature of our policy and will ensure that full attention is paid to the opinions expressed by our representatives. . . .

"Very particular attention will be devoted to adopting clear and practicable policies as regards Africa. It will be our aim to assist any African country to find a solution to its problems and to foster the growth of a common understanding among all the nations, and especially among the new nations of this continent. We are determined to encourage the development of common ties between all states. The difficulties which will confront us in promoting the friendly association of independent countries in Africa are fully appreciated, but we believe that they can be overcome if a start is made by emphasizing and building upon the cultural and economic links which already exist.

"This will be followed up by a policy of securing an agreed plan for the improvement of interterritorial communications and transport facilities, and by the pooling of resources for higher education and scientific research. Although it would be premature at this stage to think in terms of a Common Market for Africa, we are intending to work towards the expansion of trade and travel, and to secure an agreed plan for the improvement of interterritorial communications and the like.

"On the problem of boundaries, our view is that although in the past some of these were created artificially by the European powers, which even went so far as to split some communities into three parts, each administered by a different Colonial Power, nevertheless those boundaries should be respected and, in the interests of peace, must remain the recognized

boundaries until such time as the peoples concerned decide of their own free will to merge into one unit. We shall discourage any attempts to influence such communities by force or through undue pressure to change, since such interference could only result in unrest and in harm to the overall plan for the future of this great continent.

"It is true that Africa is changing every day. We rejoice to see so many countries becoming independent, but with the good developments there are bound to be some bad ones and we are troubled by the signs which we see of the ideological war between the great Powers of the world creeping into Africa. We shall therefore take steps to persuade the African leaders to take serious note of this distressing trend and we shall make every effort to bring them together, so that having been made aware of the danger we may all find a way to unite our efforts in preventing Africa from becoming an area of crisis and world tension.

"We shall not, however, allow our direct and primary interest in African affairs to blind us to the grave and vital issues which darken the wider international scene. In the United Nations and in any other way possible we shall direct our energies and influence to helping to reach solutions which will contribute to the peace of the nations and the well-being of mankind.

"To sum up, we shall do everything in our power to foster co-operation among the countries of Africa and particularly of this part of Africa and, in so far as is compatible with the national interest and with our membership of the British Commonwealth and of the United Nations, we shall maintain cordial relations with all the other nations of the world, firmly opposing all forms of aggression and striving always to obtain the observance everywhere of those human rights which all parties in Nigeria have agreed upon as fundamental, in particular freedom from racial or religious discrimination."

The Prime Minister received a message of support for his policy from the Premier of the Eastern Region, Dr. M. I. Okpara, who said that the problem of African unity requires intensive study and Nigeria's size and population alone "will be of little avail to us without a positive and competitive programme in the friendly battle for African hegemony".

New Universities and Colleges

In addition to the University College at Ibadan in the Western Region, there is now also the new University of Nigeria at Nsukka, Eastern Nigeria. Nearly 280 students including thirty-seven women have enrolled for its first year. (*Daily Telegraph*, August 6.)

During a visit to London, Dr. Azikiwe is to discuss the appointment of a Board of Examiners with the University of London. He will also consult Michigan State University. Princess Alexandra will open the new university on October 17. (*Guardian*, September 12.)

Premier Akintola of the Western Region has also announced plans to build a new university in Western Nigeria which will attract students from all over Africa.

The National Union of Nigerian students has appealed to the Federal Government to award free university scholarships to students from South Africa and Algeria. (*The Times*, July 7.)

An American technical education expert from West Michigan University, Mr. Frank Scott, is at the head of a team of American instructors to teach in new technical colleges in the Western Region. Under the 1955-60 Development Plan, two technical colleges are being established by the Western Nigerian Government; one at Ibadan and the other at Benin City for the benefit of students in the Mid-West area. The Ibadan Technical College will open next January and sixty students will be admitted. (*News from Nigeria*, August 2.)

Western Region Elections

In the West, the Action Group, the Opposition Party in the Federal Assembly, remains in power after the regional elections. Under the leadership of Chief Akintola it now begins its third term of office. The vital point in the election was the controversy regarding the creation of a new state in the Mid-West area of the region where Non-Yorubas have been demanding separation from the rest of the region. The Action Group's victory was greater than had been anticipated. The new Western Assembly now con-

tains eighty Action Group, thirty-four N.C.N.C. and ten Mabolage Grand Alliance representatives.

Chief Akintola has created a number of new ministries and appointed five ministers of state. Additional ministers are to be appointed from the House of Chiefs when it is reconstituted. New ministries established include Information, Chieftancy Affairs and Mid-West Affairs.

The Action Group did much better than had been expected in the Mid-West districts where the agitation has been consistent for a separate region, and it would appear that although the party itself has always expressed its willingness to create a new state, the results of the elections will now enable it to talk more about creating a state than taking any positive steps to do so. (*Guardian*, August 10.)

West Africa (August 13) commented: "It might be thought that the Action Group, which began as an essentially Yoruba organization, was predominant in the Yoruba areas, while its N.C.N.C. opponents would sweep the Non-Yoruba ones, particularly those where the demand for a separate 'Mid-West' state is most urgent. There are also certain other areas where for local, traditional, or even personal reasons the Action Group has been weak. But voting figures so far available show a change in Western voting patterns. Half the Mid-West seats have gone to the Action Group, including one of those in Benin. In Ibadan the Action Group now have six of the sixteen seats, though in the Federal general election and the last regional election it had difficulty in winning a single seat. Even in Okitipupa, a traditional N.C.N.C. stronghold, the Action Group made big inroads.

"On the other hand, the N.C.N.C. captured three of the four Ife seats, though it had been suggested that the Action Group Government's elevation of the Oni of Ife to the governorship of the West would be an electoral asset. In Chief Akintola's own area his opponents also did well. Does this mean that the political importance of tribalism is diminishing, in spite of the voting pattern in the Federal general election? It looks like it."

British Trade and Investment

Hella Pick writing in the *Guardian* (July 15) said: British traders installed themselves in Nigeria first; political control followed. British firms will also oust political control from Whitehall. . . .

British commercial investment in Nigeria far outstrips that of other countries, and is constantly expanding. But the pattern of that investment is changing. Until the early 1950's it concentrated on trading and transport enterprises; now the ground is slowly shifting to contracting, to manufacture, and to agricultural investment. The form of investment is also changing: no longer do British firms insist on 100 per cent control of their enterprises; instead, Nigerians are being taken more and more into partnership with the British. Understanding of the changing political situation, and willingness to adapt themselves to it, explains the success of British business in Nigeria; though failure to measure the extent of post-war foreign competition has perhaps lost British exporters, especially the textile trade, quite an important corner of this expanding market.

British investment in Nigeria, as in other Colonies, has traditionally concentrated on trading and shipping. The traders came first, buying Nigeria's palm oil, cocoa, groundnuts, cotton, etc., and in turn selling their consumer goods. As trade grew a few firms came to dominate both trading and shipping. There are five or six firms who dominate the scene; two of them are French (S.C.O.A. and C.F.A.O.) and one Swiss (U.T.C.) and the biggest of them all is the United Africa Company, which in 1958 had £1,322 millions invested in "commercial" (as distinct from industrial or transport) enterprises in Nigeria. But the form of this commercial investment is changing. . . . The trading firms have gradually withdrawn from direct control of retail selling in the bush though some of the African traders are "tied" to them. Instead, they are now concentrating their retail activities on multiple stores in Nigeria's larger towns.

These modern stores built at a time of expanding purchasing power are transforming buying habits and are constantly introducing new products to the market. Though there are innumerable Nigerian and Lebanese traders, few have the capital to build up a substantial export and import trade; and even though they dislike it and there have been many Government committees and the like to try and change this position, Nigerian traders still rely on expatriate merchants—especially the big ones—for their supplies. One factor which helps the big expatriate firms to maintain

their dominant position in the wholesale trade is that they hold the selling agencies of many major sales products. British—and other manufacturers—like to “play safe” and let their products be handled by established firms. This is particularly important to them in the case of engineering products, which have to be serviced.

U.A.C. and the other British merchant firms by no means buy exclusively British goods. They buy the best and the cheapest for a market which they know superlatively well; and the British textile trade, especially, has lost a good deal of ground to Japanese and Continental suppliers. Some British manufacturers have their own agents in West Africa, but successive trade missions have repeatedly pointed out that British manufacturers do not study the needs of the Nigerian market sufficiently. . . .

Competition in the shipping field has grown. Japanese lines have multiplied, and charters appear on the scene from time to time; but the most interesting newcomer is the Nigerian National Line. This was set up by the Nigerian Government last year in partnership with two of the established British lines: Elder Dempster and the Palm Line, who have made a substantial investment.

British contracting firms have found a lucrative field in post-war Nigeria with its big development projects. But it is a competitive field; and contractors of many nationalities have secured major contracts. These “foreign” firms have behind them Government credit guarantees on a scale which British contractors are unable to offer. Again, the situation favours the big battalions, who can obtain the support of British investment houses, and Taylor Woodrow, for example, successfully obtained a contract for building a bridge across the River Niger because they were able to offer particularly favourable credit terms.

British firms throughout Nigeria are increasingly turning to manufacturing and agricultural enterprise. The “pioneers” in this field have been the big trading firms which have reinvested profits, and sometimes also capital freed from their trading business. There has been no attempt to withdraw their capital in face of prospective independence—the opposite is the case. Often the big firms have gone into partnership with other British firms, who can provide “technical” know-how, and with Nigerian Governments and Nigerian public corporations. Such partnerships are now producing a wide range of consumer goods and of plantation products. It is sound sense for British investment to be associated with Nigerian capital; and even those businesses which have no Nigerian capital participation are establishing Nigerian subsidiaries and appointing Nigerian directors to the board.

Naturally, not all new British investment is associated with established firms, or with Nigerian Governments. Dunlop for example have established a huge rubber plantation which they control 100 per cent, and Shell-BP have invested huge sums in the development of Nigeria's oil industry.

But British capital is also increasingly brought to Nigeria through the medium of finance houses—notably the Colonial Development Corporation and the Commonwealth Development Finance Company. Both have now established investment companies in Nigeria which lend money and give technical advice to Nigerian enterprise.

Because of their long and close connexion, Nigerians naturally turn first to Britain; and this gives British business an undoubted advantage over their competitors. But British business also owes its continued success in Nigeria to the fact that it recognized early enough that, in order to stay in business itself, Nigerians must be given an ever-growing share in Nigeria's major economic enterprises.

Barclays Bank Overseas Review (August) said: “The comparative lack of interest by the outside world in Nigeria's independence is a healthy symptom. There is no reason to suppose that a single foreign investor has withdrawn his capital for political reasons; on the contrary, there is evidence that the influx of capital continues on an increasing rather than decreasing scale, though it is still far short of what many would wish. In other words, the foreign investor shows a much greater degree of confidence in the future of the independent Federation of Nigeria than he has done in that of many African countries recently.

It is of interest, therefore, to view the Federation of Nigeria from the point of view of an investor. Recent events have shown again that there are two basic requirements. The first is political stability: it will suffice here

to say that such difficulties as existed in Nigeria have been squarely faced over the last few years and the essential spirit of compromise has been shown. The second is a spirit of good will towards the external investor: here, too, Nigeria passes the test both by the words of all Nigerian leaders and by their deeds in the form of fiscal concessions. In Nigeria the policy of encouraging economic partnership reduces any feeling of hostility towards foreign interests. The Regional Development Corporations, for instance, encourage foreign capital to participate in their own enterprises and invest their own capital in domestic subsidiaries of foreign companies.

The external investor, having satisfied himself regarding the two basic requirements, will then wish to know whether the country's economic position is sound. Nigeria stands up well to such an investigation. Her external debt is negligible and her budgets are balanced. Considerable economic stability is provided by the fact that she is largely self-sufficient for basic needs. Food imports have been rising with improved standards of living, but in 1959 were still well under an eighth of the total. Her exports are fairly well diversified, though three groups predominate: in 1959 palm oil and palm kernels, cocoa and groundnuts, including groundnut oil and cake, each provided between a fifth and a quarter of the total. Production of cocoa, in particular, has shown an upward trend and the record crop of 1958-9 has again been beaten in 1959-60. Of other exports rubber recently became the most important, the value in 1959 being just over 7 per cent of the total, while timber and cotton are also of importance. Tin and columbite are the principal minerals mined for export and both have recently suffered from world factors, but improved prices and the easing of output restrictions have brightened the outlook. Coal has been an important product for many years, making the country self-sufficient and providing a surplus for export. The recent difficulties in disposing of production are more than balanced from a national point of view by increasing exploitation of oil discoveries.

Having satisfied himself with the soundness of the economy the remaining and most difficult question for the investor is to assess the prospects. With many backward countries the economy appears to be sound and yet stagnant. Nobody visiting Nigeria, particularly Lagos, would find stagnancy on the surface; huge modern blocks of offices, traffic congestion, a building boom, well-stocked modern shops—these are the first impressions of a visitor. It must be added that these impressions may be different if the visitor “goes for bush” and sees the primitive life of the villages. Either set of impressions is to some extent misleading: a factual attempt to assess what progress has been made in recent years can best be made from estimates of national income.

The national income in 1956-7 was estimated by the National Economic Council in their 1959 Economic Survey of Nigeria as between £25 and £29. This seems very low compared with £323 for the United Kingdom and £56 for Ghana, but it is higher than the figures for Uganda, Tanganyika, India and Pakistan. What is more important, it is estimated that the Nigerian figure represents an increase of 2½ per cent per annum per head in real terms over the six years since 1950-1 despite an increase in population of nearly 2 per cent per annum. This progress is not unprecedented, but it is unusual in an underdeveloped country. It is also significant that the Survey adds: “It is probable that this rate of increase has been maintained since 1956-7.” The prospects for steady rather than spectacular economic growth in Nigeria seem good.

It can be seen, therefore, that Nigeria satisfies the basic requirements of the investor in all major respects. It remains to choose the form of investment: companies in Nigeria are increasing their investment by ploughing back profits: equally important is the establishment of branches or subsidiaries of foreign firms not previously represented. Industrialization should have better prospects than in most underdeveloped countries in view of the size of the domestic market. The bar to plantations is being gradually removed so that overseas companies are increasingly able to participate in the exploitation of agricultural and primary commodities such as rubber, timber and palm products as well as many others at present relatively little grown in Nigeria.

Relations with Egypt and Israel

The United Arab Republic and Northern Nigeria are to exchange teachers and engineers. The visits were arranged after discussions between

the Northern Region Prime Minister, the Sardauna of Sokoto, and the United Arab Republic ambassador to Ghana, Mr. Hamid.

The Sardauna of Sokoto speaking at a dinner attended by Mr. Hamid touched on the controversial issue of the proposed Israeli loan to Nigeria and said that when the matter was raised in his regional executive it was the non-Moslem members who had most vehemently expressed their disapproval of the loan. He said the doors of Northern Nigeria were open to Mr. Hamid and his countrymen because he had always regarded all Moslems as one. His only regret thus far was that there were yet too few Northern Nigerians studying in U.A.R. universities. Mr. Hamid said the U.A.R. would give support to Moslems in Nigeria. "You have only to ask for our help and tomorrow we shall be at your command," he said.

This visit to Northern Nigeria was certainly unique, particularly following so soon after the controversy about the refusal of the Northern Nigerian Government to take a share in the proposed Israeli loan to the Federation. The rulers of both the Northern Peoples' Congress and the Northern Regional Government had expressed disapproval of the loan on the ground that accepting it would involve Nigeria in Middle East politics.

The Federal Premier, Sir Abubakar, who is confronted with the task of reconciling the apparent inclination of both Eastern and Western Nigeria to look into Israel for technical know how with Northern Nigeria's religious disapproval of Semiticism. For years indeed it has been obvious that while sympathy based on pan-Muslimism exists in the north, an equally great sympathy for Israel has grown in Southern Nigeria, where many Israelis now work and where there is growing suspicion, if not disapproval, of the alleged unprogressive and undemocratic tendencies of the U.A.R. The apparent attempt of U.A.R. to give leadership to the emergent African nations is widely resented in Southern Nigeria. (*Guardian*, August 12.)

Senegal and Soudan

Crisis in Mali

AFTER twenty months in the Federation of Mali, the Senegalese Government voted for secession, proclaimed Senegal an independent country and applied to the United Nations for membership. M. Leopold Senghor was elected President and invited M. Mamadou Dia to carry on as Prime Minister. M. Senghor said that "Senegal was prepared for a 'supple association' with Soudan, her former partner, in the Mali Federation." . . . He said that Senegal would accept the good offices of President de Gaulle or of "an elder brother, an African head of state, for example", to achieve such an association on the sole condition that Senegal's independence was "noted and guaranteed". The occasion should be used to prepare wider regroupment of all the states of former French West Africa.

"The idea of federation is not yet ripe in the former French West Africa. Micro-nationalisms are not yet transcended." (*Guardian*, September 8.)

M. Modibo Keita, Prime Minister of Soudan and of Mali itself, maintained that the Federation of Mali, which had united Soudan and Senegal, still existed, that he was still its Prime Minister, and that any measure that could be interpreted as recognition of the Senegalese secession might have "extremely grave consequences on the international level". (*Guardian*, August 23.)

General de Gaulle invited both leaders to Paris, where they consulted with him, as Head of the French Community, separately.

The crisis arose partly from rivalry for the post of President between M. Senghor and M. Lamine Gueye, a former socialist deputy for Dakar, whose candidature was backed by M. Keita. There were considerable differences of outlook between the Soudanese Government which was more akin to that of Guinea and the Senegalese, but the port of Dakar, the capital of Senegal, was an important outlet for the land-locked Soudan. *The Times* (August 22) said: "Mali, in spite of its convenience as an economic unit, was composed of peoples distinct in temperament and culture—the Senegalese with their long French connexion, personified in M. Senghor, Roman Catholic poet and French academic; and the Soudanese,

with their Islamic roots stretching back almost to the days of Timbuktu and Mopti, and now under the fairly authoritarian rule of M. Modibo Keita."

The *Guardian* (August 22) said: "The essential question is now the choice that the Soudan may make of an alternative partner to provide her, as Senegal has done hitherto, with a route to the sea. If the relation with Senegal is not renewed in some new form, then the Soudan has the choice of entering the *entente* of the four African states led by M. Houphouët-Boigny, the Ivory Coast Premier, or of joining forces with M. Sekou Touré and independent Guinea.

The close association of the Soudan with the Ivory Coast would not be disaster for France and would mean the maintenance of the Soudan within the French Community. Alliance between the Soudan and Guinea would be much more likely to lead the Soudan out of the Community than Guinea into it, and would be internationalizing the French Sahara.

Sierra Leone

Coalition Government¹

COMMENTING on the decision of Sierra Leone's political parties to present a limited front and form a Coalition Government, Mr. C. P. Foray wrote: "The United Front was undoubtedly the product of a master mind. Indeed it is the greatest victory the S.L.P.P. has ever won. But the victory is more apparent than real and it might well cause the downfall of the Party.

"So far the United Front has meant no more than the allocation of three portfolios and two parliamentary secretaryships to opposition members. Everything else remains the same. The Cabinet is still a curious medley of conservative traditional rulers and radical commoners, of avowed monarchists and convinced republicans, of treacherous friends and irreconcilable enemies. The members will never sing in unison but their voices, even if discordant, are predominantly and unmistakably S.L.P.P. The House of Representatives is still the same in size, composition and mentality but now, in the absence of active party politics, it is becoming a kind of reminiscence laboratory. Some performances at the last session hovered perilously on the verge of criminal levity. In fact, the United Front has to a great extent made meetings of the House unnecessary. Future sessions will be much shorter and less interesting.

The peace which the United Front was expected to bring to Sierra Leone is now seriously disturbed. Any belief that there is a political calm is a dangerous delusion. Already there is a cry—not popular perhaps, but decidedly not singular—for elections before independence and Siaka Servens has launched a new movement with all the makings of a political party.

In the last analysis the United Front is a threat to parliamentary democracy in Sierra Leone. The popular enthusiasm with which the delegation from London was received has died down and the popularity of the United Front is on the decline. But what is even more disturbing is the fact that the coalition provides great scope for unfettered dictatorship—a dictatorship that can be at best corrupt and inefficient. As things are there is no hold, no check on the men in power. (*West Africa*, August 13.)

Sierra Leone is planning its independence celebrations from April 26 to May 6, 1961.

GENERAL French Community

More Independent States

ON August 17, Gabon became the eleventh state in the French Community to achieve sovereignty in 1960. In the previous week the independence of the Central African Republic of Tchad and of the Congo Republic were

¹DIGEST VIII, 1.

celebrated. Earlier in the month similar celebrations took place in Dahomey, Niger, Upper Volta and Ivory Coast. The United Nations Council recommended all eight countries for membership of the United Nations.

It was announced that Mauritania would become independent on November 28. The only mainland French Community territory for which independence has not been achieved or fixed is French Somaliland.

In July, the Government of Upper Volta, under M. Yameogo, arrested the leaders of the opposition parties who had criticized the "brutal and somewhat rowdy manner" in which independence has been demanded. (*West African*, July 16.)

Scientific Conference in Israel

Many political leaders from West African countries, including M. Fulbert Youlou, Prime Minister of the Congo Republic, M. Gabriel Lisette, who was dismissed from his post of Vice-Premier of Tchad during his visit to Israel, Dr. Imoke, Eastern Nigerian Finance Minister, and Mr. Rogers-Wright, Sierra Leone's Housing Minister, were among the 120 delegates from the underdeveloped countries attending a conference on "Science in the Advancement of New States" at the Weizmann Institute in Israel.

Professor Saul Adler, a parasitologist at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, said that if reasonable medical attention was paid to Africa then its present population of over 200 million will double in the next twenty years. This population explosion, he said, would benefit Africa for it meant that great numbers of healthy Africans not sapped by malaria, yaws and other diseases would be able to grow produce which the continent needed.

Professor Blackett, of Imperial College, told delegates to go shopping in the world of technical "know how", but warned against assuming that "science is a magic wand that can be waved over underdeveloped countries, turning them rich overnight". The poorer countries, he said, "have enough to do in education and creating scientific manpower without spending a penny on pure scientific research. The problem is to find the people and the money to apply the scientific technologies known today."

Sir John Cockcroft, Master of Churchill College and former head of the Atomic Research Establishment at Harwell, also warned against regarding nuclear power as a universal panacea. "Africa," he said, "has tremendous reserves of water power. This should be developed first, particularly as nuclear power is more suitable for poor countries which are also industrial—India and Japan." (*West Africa*, August 27.)

China and Africa

Considerable efforts are being made by the Peking Government to win the favour of the new and potential new members of the United Nations in Africa. During 1960 more than a dozen left-wing politicians from the Congo have been given V.I.P. treatment in China; ten Zanzibaris have been on tour there and hundreds of students, women and youth leaders,

trade unionists and politicians from almost every country and colony north and south of the Sahara have been fêted in China.

The climax of the preparations to "win" Africa came in mid-April when seventeen organizations (representing labour, women doctors, writers, students, religions, etc.) sponsored the formation of the China-Africa Friendship Association. The occasion was merged with the fifth anniversary of the Bandung Conference and a crowd of 10,000 rallied in Peking to hear spirited speeches from Algerian, Gabonese, Camerounian, Uganda, and Zanzibari representatives. (*Guardian*, August 24.)

BOOK LIST

(Recent additions to the Africa Bureau Library)

INGRAMS, Harold. *Uganda—A Crisis of Nationhood*. One of a series of illustrated volumes dealing with the United Kingdom's dependent territories prepared for the Colonial Office by the Central Office of Information. Published by H.M.S.O. (Price £1 10s.)

HANNA, A. J. *The Story of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland* (by the author of *The Beginnings of Nyasaland and North-Eastern Rhodesia, 1859-95*). Published by Faber & Faber. (Price 21s.)

HUXLEY, Elspeth. *A New Earth*. An Experiment in Colonialism. A travel book across Kenya. Published by Chatto & Windus. (Price 30s.)

CREIGHTON, T. R. M. *The Anatomy of Partnership*. Southern Rhodesia and the Central African Federation. Published by Faber & Faber. (Price 25s.)

PATON, Alan. *The Charlestown Story*. The story of Africans who bought or rented land in and around Charlestown. Published by Liberal Party of South Africa. (Price 1s.)

African Traders. Their position and problems in Johannesburg's southwestern townships. By Lawrence Reyburn. Published as a Fact Paper by the S.A. Institute of Race Relations. (Price 2s. 6d.)

RANGER, Terence. *Crisis in Southern Rhodesia*. This Fabian Commonwealth Bureau pamphlet describes the historical development of Southern Rhodesian politics and the consequent framework within which the present Government faces the current crisis in race relations. A postscript brings the pamphlet right up to date with a description of the July disturbances. (Fabian Society, 11 Dartmouth Street, London, S.W.1. Price 4s. 2d. post free.)

Mandate in Trust by the African 1960 Committee discusses the present position of South West Africa and the steps which should be taken to protect the interests of the indigenous people, and bring about United Nations trusteeship. (Price 1s. 6d.)

The Editor of the DIGEST does not necessarily endorse the views of correspondents

AFRICA BUREAU ACTIVITIES

We record with great regret the death of Dr. W. E. Sangster who, as an Hon. President of the Bureau, had been associated with its work from the beginning. He took a particular interest in South Africa and was a Trustee of the Justice in South Africa Fund established when South African Bantu Education was introduced in 1955.

Father Trevor Huddleston, C.R., has been appointed Bishop of Masasi in Tanganyika. As this means he will no longer be resident in England he has resigned from the Executive Committee of the Bureau. He will however continue his close association with our work as an Hon. President.

The arrests and disturbances in Southern Rhodesia brought an appeal for funds from the Southern Rhodesian Legal Aid and Welfare Committee with which the Bureau has been associated since May 1959, when it was set up under the chairmanship of Guy Clutton-Brock. The Bureau, through the generosity of its members, has been able to respond to this appeal. The need for Defence Counsel for the National Democratic Party leaders was mainly met through a committee established in London by Mr. Enoch Dumbetshehwa and members of the Conservative and Labour Parties, and the Bureau allocated approximately half the funds it had available to this. But there are also many Africans arrested in the disturbances which followed the arrests of the leaders. The Southern Rhodesian Legal Aid and Welfare Committee has arranged for defence lawyers for them where necessary, and it is also offering help to the families affected. Bail has been supplied for some by people in Rhodesia in order that large numbers of people should not be waiting trial in prison. Money is still required, and any funds received by the Bureau will be sent out to Southern Rhodesia immediately.

The Bureau organized the press conference at which Mr. Garfield Todd, then chairman of the Central Africa Party, and Mr. Joshua Nkomo for the National Democratic Party called for the suspension of the Southern Rhodesian constitution by the British Government.

The South African United Front made its first public statement of

policy at a well-attended public meeting on September 23 in the Central Hall, Westminster. Mr. Christopher Mayhew, M.P., was in the chair, and Mr. K. A. Gbedemah, Ghana Minister of Finance, also spoke in support of the United Front's policy against apartheid. The South African speakers were Mr. Nana Mahomo (Pan-Africanist Congress); Mr. Oliver Tambo (African National Congress); Mr. J. Kosonguizi (South West African National Union); and Dr. Yusuf Dadoo (South African Indian National Congress). An appeal for funds was made by Mr. David Ennals, and the sponsoring organizations were the Anti-Apartheid Movement, Christian Action, Committee of African Organizations, Movement for Colonial Freedom and the Africa Bureau.

Prior to their London meeting the United Front representatives had toured the provinces, and many Africa Councils assisted in the arrangements for their meetings.

The Rev. Markus Kooper from South West Africa arrived in London *en route* for the United Nations early in September. Mr. Kooper is a petitioner to the United Nations. He was evicted from his home and exiled to a remote area of South West Africa; he escaped to Bechuanaland where he remained for several months being unable to get travel documents to proceed overseas. Eventually he managed to travel to Tanganyika, and from there the Bureau was able to arrange for his flight to London. He spoke at a press conference with members of the South African United Front on September 6.

The Sheffield Africa Council is being restarted and its first meeting will be addressed by the Chairman of the Africa Bureau, Lord Hemingford.

Africa Bureau Christmas cards are again on sale; there are three new designs in addition to the lovely photograph of the Zulu mother and child which has been much admired in previous years. Black and white reproductions of the designs are shown on the order form enclosed in this number of AFRICA DIGEST. If you could make use of more copies of the order form please inform the secretary.

THE AFRICA BUREAU

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Honorary Presidents: The Very Rev. Principal John Baillie, Sir Maurice Bowra, Mr. Guy Clutton-Brock, The Rev. T. Corbishley, S.J., Mr. James Crawford, The Right Hon. Isaac Foot, The Rev. Trevor Huddleston, C.R., Professor Arthur Lewis, The Rev. Prof. C. E. Raven, The Rt. Rev. A. Reeves, The Rt. Rev. J. L. Wilson, Professor Roger Wilson.

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